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ABSTRACT

Three papers discuss intercultural communication and second language learning in Scandinavia. The first paper, "Good Learning Strategies in Foreign and Second Language Learning--The Case of English in Denmark," discusses principles and strategies for learning second languages for the purpose of effective intercultural communication. Particular attention is given to the teaching of English in Denmark. The second paper "All Children in the Nordic Countries Should Be Bilingual--Why Aren't They?" discusses the lack of research on native languages of Scandinavian residents and provides an overview of the basic program designs available for teaching foreign languages. In the third paper, "Intercommunicative and Intercultural Competence," a framework is presented for analyzing the role of communicative and intercultural competence and their teachability in second language instruction. (VWL)

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Robert Phillipson
Tove Skutnabb-Kangas

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Robert Phillipson
Good learning strategies in foreign and second language learning - the case of English in Denmark 1

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas
All children in the Nordic countries should be bilingual - why aren't they? 17

Robert Phillipson and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas
Intercommunicative and intercultural competence 43

There are hopefully inexhaustible associations in the title of this ROLIG-papir. While others may be cunning linguists, we are advocates of multilingualism who acknowledge the reality of interlanguage and interculture. We are interested in multiculturalism, but suspicious of the purpose it serves in societies which are more concerned to swamp minorities. We also fear that much foreign and second language teaching is affected by cults (and myths) around the goals of (inter-) communicative and (inter-) cultural competence. Hence our boldness in coining CULTILINGUALISM to cover an integrated (and utterly provisional) theory embracing the cultural and linguistic components of language learning.

The relative (in)competence of learners and native speakers, as it (they?) can be observed in instances of communication disruption or conflict, is one source of evidence for intercommunicative and intercultural competence and a means of empirically testing theories in this area. The joint paper on this theme was given at the British Association of Applied Linguistics annual conference in Leicester in September 1983 (the papers of which are to be published). The first two papers explore related issues in first, second and foreign language planning. Both papers were given at the Second International Conference on Minority Languages, held at Åbo/Turku in Finland in June 1983. Papers from this conference are to be published in the Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, volume 5, nos. 3 & 4 (1984). Hopefully the three papers together complement each other, even in a world of disruption and conflict.

Roskilde, November 1983.

Good learning strategies in foreign and second language learning - the case of English in Denmark

Robert Phillipson

For languages to be used, they have to be learned. The focus of this paper is on principles and strategies for learning languages, exemplified in relation to Denmark and the dominant foreign language, English.

Which language and why?

It is natural for a small country like Denmark to wish to retain its national language in full vigour. But Denmark is not a monolingual Danish-speaking country. Minority ethnic groups, 100 000 immigrants, foreign television, tourists, books, commerce - the list of contexts where a language other than Danish is used is virtually endless. Even within Danish, the importation of foreign terms for basic items of food, clothing, entertainment, technology, etc. is striking. In the contemporary world the vast majority of these are of American origin.

It is logical for a country that lives by trading to allocate a good deal of educational effort to the learning of foreign languages. In addition to instrumental purposes, which any child is likely to be aware of, school subjects such as "English" or "International Studies" can contribute to general educational development and can sensitise the learner to alien cultures. These three types of goal, utilitarian, intellectual and intercultural, apply for the entire school-going population, not just for en élite.

Which languages then? Ignoring for a moment the status quo and the fact that large numbers of teachers have been trained to teach specific languages, but bearing in mind the goals already identified, what criteria should hold when selecting foreign languages? Geographical proximity? This is less significant in a world of sattelites, video, and multinationals. What about national security, a

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decisive factor in American foreign language educational planning, which postulates linguistic and ideological understanding as supports for an internationalism explicitly tied to military, diplomatic and commercial interests spanning the entire globe (President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies, 1979)? Quite apart from Danes not perceiving their national interest in these terms, even if the same factors hold, the Americans do not merit emulation in this field, as their "incompetence in foreign languages is nothing short of scandalous" (Commission report, p. 6).

One reason for American ethnocentricity and the monolingualism of the majority of the population is, of course, the fact that their mother tongue is English. In addition to being a mother tongue, English has numerous other functions. It is variously described as a world language (for instance, Pergamon's new journal), a frankly imperialist label; a language of wider understanding (Ferguson, when director of the Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, in Rice, 1962), a neo-colonialist euphemism; an international language, or a language for international communication (Brumfit 1982), a more functional categorisation; and as an international auxiliary language in the sense of a lingua franca for people with no other common language, as for instance in many third world countries where English has indigenized.

The wide use of English makes it a natural candidate for educational planners selecting foreign languages. A similar case can be made for other languages used internationally (eg. French, Arabic) or, in multilingual societies, for languages used intranationally (eg. Hindi, Swahili).

In Denmark, English ousted German as first foreign language in formal education after the Second World War, this switch reflecting a wider international orientation. Now, all Danish children learn English, nearly all learn German, and some learn French; very few learn languages other than these in school[1]. Even if Danish is one of the official languages of the European Economic Community and the European Parliament, there is a strong case for

Danes to learn English, French and German because of their instrumental value in a multitude of political, economic and cultural contexts.

An alternative approach to an internationalist one would be to focus on the languages used by the minority communities in Denmark. This approach is being seriously considered in many traditionally monolingual countries, from Europe to Australia. In Britain, a working party of the National Congress on Languages in Education has argued that instrumental, educational and cultural aims can be achieved as adequately through the study of one of the languages of a minority community in Britain as through one of the more traditionally taught languages[2]. An underlying goal in promoting minority language learning for monolingual English-speaking children, as well as the minorities themselves, is to encourage a greater appreciation of the languages and cultures which make up contemporary multicultural and multilingual Britain. Denmark has not yet realized the potential of this approach, whether for the dominated or the dominant groups.

A further criterion in selecting foreign languages is familiarity with literary masterpieces or great thinkers, the cultural heritage associated with Greek and Latin a century ago and now not so easily identified. Foreign language learning at the upper end of school in most industrialised countries professes such a goal. In Denmark, teachers are free to compile their own syllabuses, within fairly liberal limits, and many Danish 18-years-olds read Shakespeare in the original. The exercise can only be indirectly concerned with the learners' personal proficiency in English, and has more to do with educational reproduction of a specific cultural tradition, one which is increasingly being questioned. Macbeth, the most widely read play[3], may be peculiarly appropriate so far as the themes of the play are concerned, but the bond with instrumental or intercultural goals is more tenuous. The play functions as a representative of the ideological purposes of education and its qualification system - and disqualification too, as education is invariably competitive.

The goals named in the official regulations for English in Denmark are explicitly instrumental and intercultural but they are formulated in a very open-ended way. They cover:

- the skills of speaking, listening, reading and writing as means of communication and self-expression of personal value
- the promotion of the wish to use the language and make progress in it
- in compulsory schooling (English from ages 11-16), becoming well-informed about the life and culture of the communities where English is spoken so as to acquire a solid foundation for international understanding; and, at the upper secondary level (16-19), insight into characteristic aspects of the culture of the countries which use English as a means of expression, particularly USA and England[4].

English - a foreign or second language?

As a preliminary step towards considering how these goals might be reached, it is necessary to consider how far English learning in Denmark is foreign language learning, or whether it is more of a second language learning situation. A foreign language can be defined as a language which has no internal functions in the relevant country and which is learned in order to communicate with native speakers or interlanguage users of the foreign language. By contrast a second language has specific functions within the community, like for instance the language of the country of residence for immigrants, or former colonial languages retained for administrative, educational or technological purposes in many third world countries. Whether a language is a foreign or second language has significant implications for pedagogy, due to the amount and type of exposure to the language and the uses to which it is put.

Danes are exposed to a great deal of English on television, in youth culture and the media generally. English is indispensable in higher education, particularly in

natural sciences and technological subjects. English words are now ubiquitous in the high street. So far as language reception (reading and hearing) is concerned, it is fair to regard English as fast becoming a second language in Denmark. Furthermore, in order to accede to positions of influence in society, by staying the course in the education system, it is also necessary to demonstrate productive mastery of the language in speaking and writing. English is one of the filters of the education system that cannot by circumvented. It is also important in many jobs. English therefore has important social functions within Danish society, in education and outside it, and in that sense can be considered a second language.

The influential status of English, and the fact that many Danes speak superb English, should not mislead one to conclude that English teaching is universally successful. Standards in the education system tend to be determined by the logic of its own traditions and exam system. They range, in the assessment of a recent Council of Europe investigating committee (admittedly after a cursory visit), from learners whose English is excellent to others who lack the ability "to fulfill even basic communicative needs when confronted with English-speaking visitors"[5]. English in Denmark has foreign and second language functions, and failure to master English is increasingly likely to be a social disadvantage.

Ten language learning goals

In order to consider the full range of components in language learning, I shall relate my analysis of English learning in Denmark to a set of aims elaborated in Britain to guide teachers of all language subjects in compulsory schooling. These aims are both more detailed and wide-ranging that the Danish ones already summarised. They explicitly acknowledge social goals in a multilingual world. The ten points cover communicative competence, learning processes, metalinguistic knowledge and language awareness, the uses of language for personal, intercultural, social, political and aesthetic purposes, and

response to a variety of art forms and media[6]. Although exemplification will be in relation to school in Britain and Denmark, the language learning strategies I shall refer to are undoubtedly of much more general validity. (NB. The numbered, italic sentences are quotations from the original source.)

1. *To use language(s) and the relevant media appropriately for academic, occupational and social purposes.*

The communicative competence of the learner is explicitly related to the demands of the education system, future professional needs, and interaction. What has to be learned is not merely linguistic competence (lexis, grammar, and phonology/orthography), but pragmatic competence, ie the speech acts, cohesion in discourse, and speech act modality in the sense of attitudinal marking, which are relevant to the socio-cultural contexts that learners should be exposed to or prepared for. A third component of interlanguage communicative competence is fluency, meaning the ability to activate one's linguistic and pragmatic competence with ease. A fourth component is strategic competence, which covers the problem-solving procedures learners resort to when there are gaps in their linguistic or pragmatic competence or when communication difficulties require a repair.

There is a terminological overlap here, because I am using the term strategy throughout the paper in the general sense of a plan, whereas strategic competence refers exclusively to communication strategies, the devices that learners have recourse to when in linguistic trouble (Færch/Kasper 1983). This is one aspect of interlanguage communication which has been intensively studied in recent years. There is empirical evidence that interlanguage based communication strategies such as paraphrase are more likely to lead to mutual understanding than mother tongue based communication strategies such as code-switching or literal translation (Haastrup/Phillipson 1983, Bialystok 1983).

There is also an increasing amount of documentation

of learners' difficulties in handling the pragmatics of English. For instance, the brusqueness or abruptness that can characterise interlanguage users when making a request or a complaint can be due to them making the speech acts more directly than English native speakers do, using fewer routinized formulae, and structurally simpler ways of realizing a pragmatic function, and marking inadequately for politeness (German data from Kasper, 1982).

Traditionally foreign language teaching concentrated on linguistic competence. To make communicative language teaching effective, learner strategies should take learners' needs and their level of interlanguage competence as starting-points and structure the learning so that all four components of communicative competence are systematically built up.

2. *To develop intellectual skills of general application, including analysis, categorisation, comparing and contrasting, criticism, defining, drawing of inferences, logical reasoning, memorisation, scanning, skimming, summarising, synthesis.*

These intellectual skills expand the description of communicative competence by specifying some of the cognitive operations which are developed in school, in the mother tongue before other languages. Of special relevance for the learning of foreign languages are categorisation when using the forms and concepts of the new linguistic system (for example, for us interlanguage users of Scandinavian languages, a major hurdle in developing reading proficiency is compounded words); memorisation for such purposes as conscious learning or developing fluency in integrating the phonological units of the foreign language; and inferencing. Inferencing is a vital learning process, because if the language a learner is exposed to can be understood by means of rules in the learner's existing interlanguage knowledge, no learning can take place. Learning depends on the application of inferencing to input which is not immediately comprehensible and the meaning of which needs to be guessed at and puzzled out

in the light of all the available cues. You can communicate without learning, but if learning is to take place, the input has to stretch the learner's interlanguage and has to be made comprehensible by inferencing.

3. *To gain some understanding of the processes used in acquiring a language, and to apply these to the study of such further languages as may be appropriate.*

The consideration of inferencing has already led us into learning processes. In any formal (ie educational) learning situation, learners should be provided with tools and concepts to facilitate a conscious awareness of what is involved in language learning.

One possible psycholinguistic theory of language learning sees it as hypothesis formation and hypothesis testing on the basis of comprehensible input (outside and inside the classroom) and, depending on whether the feedback on the hypothesis is negative or positive, establishment and ultimately automatisation of the rules of the target language (see Færch/Haastrup/Phillipson 1983, particularly chapter 11). The inferencing of meaning is one means of hypothesis formation. Hypothesis testing may involve recourse to a dictionary, saying something in the expectation that a teacher will assess it, or actually communicating in the language. An immigrant who interacts with speakers of the language of the country of residence may learn a lot of language subconsciously, through actual use, which provides implicit feedback on the learner's hypotheses.

All learners could benefit from being made aware of the nature and function of language learning processes, as well as of the components of communicative competence. This can lead to a greater appreciation of the purpose and expected results of different types of classroom activity, and of interaction and self-help, and to learners taking more responsibility for their own learning.

4. *To acquire knowledge of the modest collection of technical terms useful in the discussion of language.*

These technical terms should cover not only metalinguistic knowledge, which is restricted to linguistic competence, but also metacommunicative knowledge, in other words awareness of all the constituents of communicative competence. Learners should be taught to analyse which classroom learning acitivities support wich aspects of communicative competence. For instance, role play can serve to develop insight into pragmatic uses of language.

If practice, exposure to and productive use of the language, is available outside the classroom, it may be possible to avoid spending precious classroom time on it. Feedback on interlanguage (eg on errors or gaps) and consciousness-raising in relation to language is more likely to be available inside the classroom from the teacher and fellow learners. For this a small amount of metacommunicative terminology is necessary.

5. *To become aware of the diversity of language and to realize that in linguistic terms no one system of language is inferior to any other.*

This is a self-evident goal, except to ethnocentrics or linguocentrics. Any education system should work to combat prejudice, and Danish schools are officially committed to encouraging democratic and tolerant ideals. It is one of the tasks of language subjects to provide the tools for reaching this goal.

6. *To reflect personal experience and a confident sense of personal identity, self-esteem and worth.*

This sounds like a, possibly paternalistic, concern for ethnic minority groups, particularly the Afro-Caribbean speakers of Black British English, but the point is equally valid for speakers of any stigmatized sociolect or dialect, or for interlanguage speakers, who may be

judged falsely on the basis of their language (see examples in Gumperz, 1982). It is a good strategy to make learners aware of how they sound in a foreign language, as they may well do themselves less than justice. However, personal confidence is not enough if the speaker belongs to a group which is stigmatized, by another group, and it may be more important to increase the awareness and tolerance of the dominant group - in relation to ethnic minorities or interlanguage speakers - than to focus on the supposed inadequacies of the outsiders. This requires sensitive handling, and insight into the linguistic and social psychological aspects of inter-ethnic communication, because interlanguage users invariably speak a language which is formally and functionally reduced as compared with that of native speakers[7].

It can be argued that learning a foreign language may have an emancipatory effect on children from less privileged homes (for a summary see James 1979, p 9) or from confining home environments (Börsch 1982). However, as modern language learning is merely one constituent of a class-based education system this potential can be exaggerated. Paradoxically, emancipation is unlikely either in Britain, where foreign languages have a low and declining status, or in Denmark, where the second language status of English entrenches its position as an instrument of social control. These remarks apply to children fron the linguistic majority. As regards the language learning needs of ethnocultural linguistic minority groups, and a proposal for a radically different approach to foreign language learning, see Tove Skutnabb-Kangas's paper in this volume.

7. *to widen their experience of other cultures within the local community and beyond it, and to empathise with members of minority groups.*

Syllabuses in Denmark shold in principle result from a negotiation between the teacher, whose job it is to be familiar with the culture of English-speaking countries

and representative texts, and the learner, who has the legal right to a say in what is studied. Syllabuses structured around the reading of texts on such themes as Northern Ireland, South Africa, Amerindians, the Civil Rights movement, and the National Front indicate an interest in and serve to promote empathy with minority groups in English-speaking countries. This is a valid way of coming to grips with the goal of insight into "characteristic aspects" of the culture of Britain and USA.

In addition to choosing appropriate themes or texts, it is essential, when structuring syllabuses, that attention is also paid to communicative goals, language learning processes and activities, and the suitability of particular themes or texts in relation to these.

Teachers vary greatly in how they structure their syllabuses. Some subordinate communicative competence to cultural goals, some pursue linguistic and cultural goals separately, some integrate them. Some regard empathy with minority groups as an important goal - making it more likely that Danish teenagers know more about Blacks in Britain and their cultural heritage than the Turks that they rub shoulders with in Copenhagen.

8. *to become aware of how language and the media can be deployed against objectivity, to produce stereotyping, racism and sexism.*

Most of the awareness of Danish learners of life in English-speaking countries reaches them through the filter of the media. One could therefore argue that the most important task for the school subject English is to develop an understanding of why British and American media, particularly television, have such a colossal impact on countries like Denmark and what implications this has, linguistically and culturally. In relation to learning English, they should study the processes of international cultural diffusion, the economic and technological factors which put Denmark at the receiving end of cultural imperialism.

At the upper secondary level in Danish schools, there

is a trend towards selecting themes which have an exemplary function for understanding Britain, the USA, and third world English-speaking countries. Such themes may be of general human interest, (eg mental health, evolution, the arms race, sexism); or they may be more securely anchored geographically (eg solar energy in a specific West African country, or urban revolts in Toxteth and Brixton). Themes are sometimes pursued in integration with or in parallel with work in other subjects such as geography, physics or history.

Work along such lines is likely to develop proficiency in using English while simultaneously raising awareness of the role of English in the modern world. If English is an international "auxiliary"language, who is it helping[8]?

9. *to respond sensitively to a wide variety of art forms, in addition to those which are dependent on the use of language, viz. literature and film.*

and

10. *to appreciate human achievement, aspirations and criteria of aesthetic value.*

These final points take us to the affective side of language learning, in which fiction of many kinds has an important role to play. Macbeth should not be confined to the classroom, and wrestling with the text may be a necessary prelude to a visit to the theatre. Television brings language and culture into the home, and unfortunately tends to bring passivity and a lack of discrimination with it. Response (9) and appreciation (10) are not enough for a vital culture, meaning that education should also aim at encouraging active, critical learners.

Concluding remarks

The issues touched on under these ten points, and the good learner strategies identified in relation to them, are all important in foreign and second language learning. They should be well covered in teacher training and inform

daily pedagogic activity. While the exemplification has been in relation to English in Denmark, the principles of needs identification, learner awareness of the components of communicative competence, of language learning processes and activities and of the characteristics of developing interlanguages, syllabus negotiation, and the interdependence of language learning and cultural learning, these are principles of general validity.

In Denmark English has no trouble in legitimating itself, and is in a class of its own compared to other foreign languages. But this is not a satisfactory state of affairs. It is imperative that enough Danes learn other languages well so that contact is maintained with a range of cultures and so that international understanding is not synonymous with transnational domination. Symptomatic of the present imbalance is that while English is given massive institutional support, and German and French rather less, there is an almost total neglect of the languages of the ethnic minorities. Most parents in mixed marriages fail to bring up their children bilingually. The policy towards ethnic minorities is one of official neglect and incompetence and absence of any wish to learn from the experience of other countries. So far as bilingualism in the family is concerned, there is widespread ignorance of the issues involved, but a recent book admirably meets the need for information for the non-specialist (Saunders, 1982). Those of us who are active in foreign and second language pedagogy need to be much more active in analysing the relevance of particular strategies in relation to learning goals, so as to assist policy-making and pedagogical practice. As English is in effect becoming a second language in Denmark, it is important to be aware of the reasons for this, and to think through the implications that follow for language use, both in the education system and in society at large.

Notes:

1. 1982 figures were quoted by the Minister of Education at a languages conference reported in a special issue of the Danish journal Sproglæreren summarising the conference.
2. Report of the Working Party on The Languages of Minority Communities, National Congress on Languages in Education, February 1982. Details from the Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research, 20, Carlton House Terrace, London SW1Y 5AP.
3. A statistical breakdown on the most commonly read texts is made in Skydsgaard and Vesterholm, 1982.
4. Extracts from the Danish legislation plus translations into English are given in Færch, Haastrup and Phillipson, 1983, chapter 13.
5. Bergentoft, 1981, page 10.
6. The list was drawn initially from a number of official documents, notably Her Majesty's Inspectorate Working Paper of December 1977 on Curriculum 11-16, for use in a mother tongue project. It is published in Broadbent 1982.
7. For a description, see Færch, Haastrup and Phillipson, 1983, particularly chapter 17.
8. International technical and cultural cooperation of the kind sponsored by the British Council, through the medium of English, is legitimated in commercial as well as political terms, for instance by reference to "potential markets, allies or partners" (British Council Annual Report, 1981-82, page 23).

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ALL CHILDREN IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES SHOULD BE BILINGUAL - WHY AREN'T THEY?

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas

Introduction

Scandinavia has often been considered as culturally and linguistically very homogeneous. This is of course not true and has never been true. Besides the official languages of the 5 nation-states (languages which have also been spoken in the neighbouring countries, like Swedish in Finland, and Finnish and Danish in Sweden), Inuit, Faroese, Same, German and (from very early on also) Romanes are native languages of the area. Some of the original minority groups have had a later or steady influx of new speakers, continuing up to our time - this is mostly true of Finnish-speakers in Sweden.

Figures for speakers of languages other than the official ones are virtually unobtainable. For instance, it is possible to get figures for Inuit speakers in Greenland, but there are no reliable figures for Inuit speakers or Faroese speakers in Denmark, because the semi-colonial status of Inuits and Faroese speakers makes them invisible in Danish statistics. Census questions in all Scandinavian countries (including officially bilingual Finland) are careful not to collect information about the mother tongues of their residents (if these are not official languages) or about their degree of bilingualism, figures which would make the minorities more visible. This state of affairs seems to be typical of internal colonialism.

In all Nordic countries the teaching of foreign or second languages in schools starts early, as compared with other industrialised countries. Most children have an opportunity to learn more than one language in addition to the language of instruction. There are few studies about the need for different languages in Scandinavia. It

seems that people think it is more or less self-evident that we need many languages and precisely those languages which are taught now. Every now and then comes a cry from business people saying that there are too few people who know German, Spanish, Russian etc. well, and sometimes educational authorities make token gestures saying that efforts should be made to ensure that languages other than English should get a chance too. But nobody asks what languages ordinary people would need to know to have a richer life, to put it in a populistic way. Maybe it would be better for majority people in northern Finland, Norway and Sweden to know Same rather than German? Maybe many Swedish people in Stockholm, Gothenburg or Malmö should know Finnish or Serbocroat rather than French. Maybe it would be more important for people to know the language of their next-door neighbours than to be able to understand a tiny part of the conversation in Dallas where they have the subtitles in a Scandinavian language anyway on the TV-screen?

The question, then, arises as to whether school can achieve such goals. Is it possible for all the people in Scandinavia to learn some of the important languages used in Scandinavia by both native Scandinavian people and by immigrants, and still learn languages which are important for outside export and cultural exchange?

Of course. Partly we know that it is fully possible to become bilingual with the help of the school, so that one knows two or even more languages really well. This is possible both for children from linguistic majorities and for children from linguistic minorities, even if they need different methods. Partly we also know that learning another language means both learning a technique for how to learn languages, and learning the actual language. Once one has learned one language well, in addition to one's mother tongue, the next language is much easier. The step from bilingual to trilingual is considerably smaller than the step from monolingual to bilingual.

We also know that minorities and majorities, because their starting points are different, need different educational programs in order for children to become bilingual. I will start with mentioning three types of programme, to see what could be used if we want all Nordic children to become bilingual.

Three programmes

An immersion programme is a programme where majority children with a high status mother tongue voluntarily choose to be instructed through the medium of a second or foreign (minority) language, in classes with majority children only, where the language of instruction is foreign to all of them, where the teacher is bilingual so that the children can communicate their needs to the teacher and each other initially in their own language, and where their own mother tongue is in no danger of not developing or of being replaced by the language of instruction - an additive language learning situation. Immersion programmes in Canada are the most thoroughly researched language teaching programmes in the world (see Swain and Lapkin 1982).

We know that children in immersion programmes learn content as well as children who are taught through the medium of their L1. We know that this happens at no cost to their L1 proficiency, and that their tests of L1 proficiency often show better results than those for monolingual L1 speakers. In addition they learn another language much better than in traditional foreign language programmes, often to a near-native level. We also know that becoming bilingual is good for children; there is massive evidence for this, of a cognitive, academic, cultural and social-political kind. We know that it is perfectly possible to make majority children bilingual through education. Given this, all schools in the Nordic countries should promote immersion programmes.

A submersion programme is a programme where minority children with a low status mother tongue are forced to

accept instruction through the medium of the foreign or second majority language (with high status), in classes where some children are native speakers of the language of instruction and where the teacher doesn't understand the mother tongue of the minority children, and where the majority language constitutes a threat to their mother tongue - a subtractive language learning situation. These programmes are often called sink-or-swim-programmes. The results in these programmes are often poor, both linguistically and academically. The children mostly learn to speak L2 fluently with a native accent about everyday concrete matters in face-to-face interaction in cognitively less demanding situations where contextual cues can be used to infer meaning (Cummins 1981). But many of them start failing in the higher grades, when more cognitive/academic language proficiency is called upon, the capacity to use language as the sole means for solving cognitively more demanding decontextualised problems (Skutnabb-Kangas 1982). More teaching in and through the medium of L2 does not seem to help much either, as for instance Aaron Cicourel has described (1982). And the children's L1 does not develop in these programmes because it is not the medium of instruction, and does not get the powerful social support outside school which a majority-L1 gets. Often it is not even taught as a subject, but even if it is, a few hours per week is of course not enough. This type of programme is responsible for most of the poor results of many minority children in schools all over the world. Given this, there should be no submersion programmes in the Nordic countries.

A language shelter programme, a maintenance programme or a mother tongue medium programme, is a programme where minority children, often with a low status mother tongue, get (most of) their instruction through the medium of their own L1 through the first several years, sometimes throughout the school, and where they learn the majority language as a second language. In these programmes the children learn their L2 as well as or better than in submersion

programmes. In addition they learn their mother tongue, i.e. they become bilingual. And understanding what they are taught obviously also improves their school achievement. There are numerous evaluations of these programmes. All evaluations, where all the necessary distinctions have been made (so that for instance majority and minority children have not been mixed, or so that transitional programmes have not been taken for maintenance programmes, etc.), show that they function well. In a recent very comprehensive literature review of different programmes, made for the Ministry of Education in Ontario, Canada, Jim Cummins concludes (1983, 76) that well implemented bilingual programmes would have no adverse effects on the development of L2 academic skills, quite the contrary, there is evidence for the opposite, enrichment of L2 academic skills. "From the point of view of student achievement in L2, there appear to be few constraints in terms of the amount of instructional time devoted to [L1] (50% - 80% appears reasonable ...) nor in terms of the duration of the program (e.g. grades K-12)", says Cummins. Given this, all minority children in the Nordic countries should have mother tongue medium programmes. Besides, all the minority organisations in all the Nordic countries want to have mother tongue medium programmes, which in a Scandinavian democracy should be enough to promote them for all the minorities.

Typology of monolingual or bilingual education

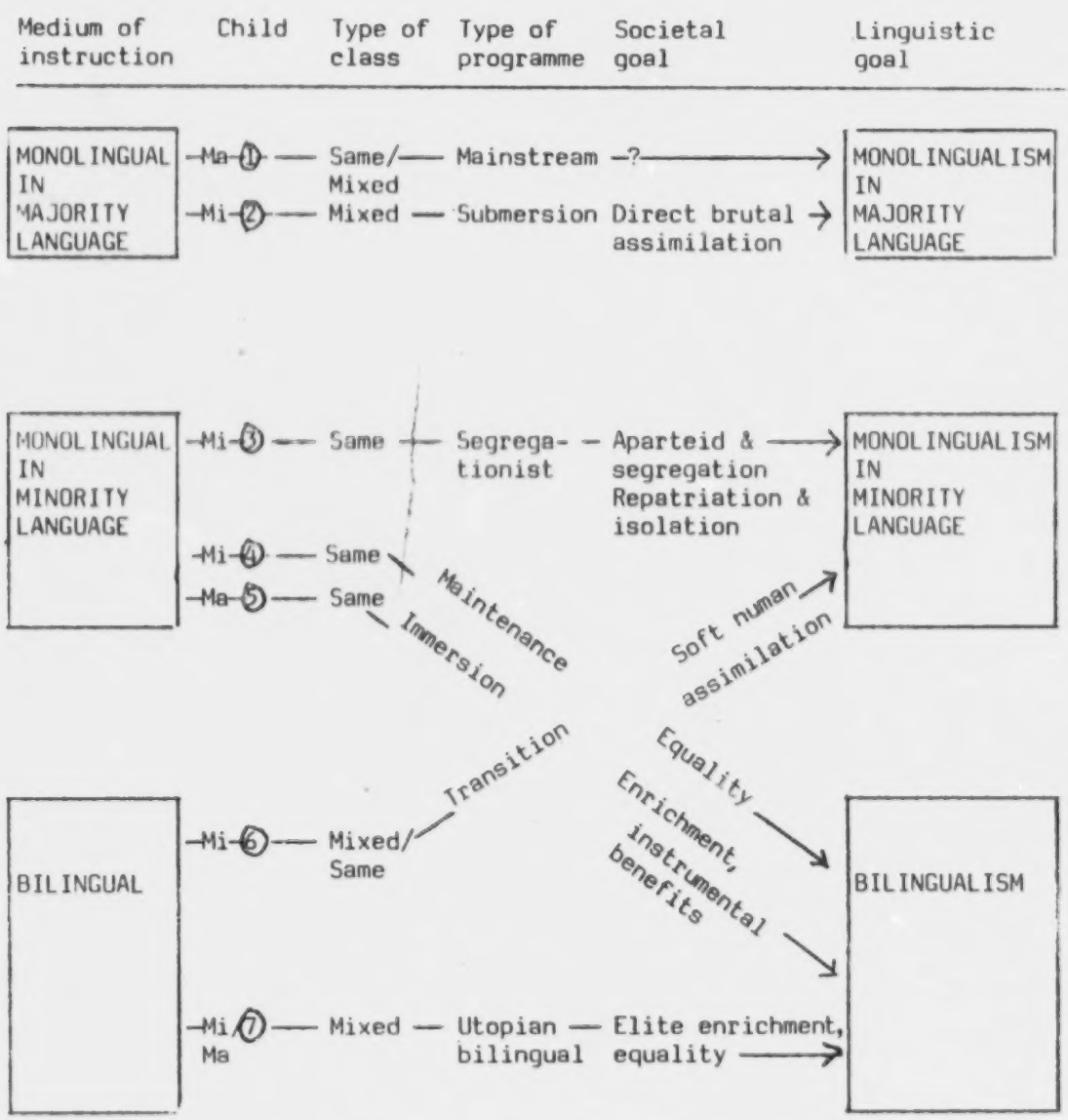
In order to substantiate these claims and to illustrate some of the sociological and psycholinguistic differences between situations where children try to become bilingual, I will present a short summary of two of the typologies I have used (Skutnabb-Kangas 1983) to try to understand differential outcomes. In my first typology I look at the relationship between method and aim.

When one looks at different programmes and notices that some programmes teach children through the medium of L1, some through the medium of L2, and some programmes succeed

in making the children bilingual (at least to a very large extent and to a high level) while others don't, quite regardles of whether the children have been taught through the medium of one language or two, and through the medium of L1 or L2, a confusion is unavoidable, unless one tries to single out a few factors and understand some of the principles.

In my typology I distinguish between language of instruction (monolingual or bilingual) and the aim of the programme, first from a linguistic point of view (where I treat monolingualism/bilingualism first as an independent variable, i.e. I see, for instance monolingual education in the minority language for majority members as causing bilingualism). Then I proceed by trying to see what societal goals the linguistic aims serve, and here the societal goals become the independent variable, decisive for which language(s) is chosen as the medium of instruction (mediating variable) to produce monolingualism or bilingualism (dependent variable), which in its turn is decisive for whether or not the societal goals can be achieved. I also distinguish between the majority language and the minority language in discussing both the medium of instruction and the linguistic aim (and I define minority in terms of power relationships not numbers). Under "child" I indicate from whose perspective the programme is classified. The linguistic makup of the class is indicated under "type of class", where classes where all the children have the same mother tongue are classified as "same"", regardless of whether this same L1 is the majority or the minority language.

Table 1


Medium of instruction
Child
Type of class
Type of programme
Societal goal
Linguistic goal
MONOLINGUAL IN MAJORITY LANGUAGE
Ma 1
Same/ Mixed
Mainstream
?
MONOLINGUALISM IN MAJORITY LANGUAGE
Mi 2
Mixed
Submersion
Direct brutal assimilation
MONOLINGUAL IN MINORITY LANGUAGE
Mi 3
Same
Segrega- tionist
Aparteid & segregation Repatriation & isolation
MONOLINGUALISM IN MINORITY LANGUAGE
Mi 4
Same
Maintenance
Soft human assimilation
Ma 5
Same
Immersion
BILINGUAL
Mi 6
Mixed/ Same
Transition
Equality
Enrichment, instrumental benefits
BILINGUALISM
Mi/ Ma 7
Mixed
Utopian bilingual
Elite enrichment, equality

MONOLINGUAL EDUCATION THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF THE MAJORITY LANGUAGE THE GOAL OF WHICH IS MONOLINGUALISM IN THE MAJORITY LANGUAGE FOR MAJORITY CHILDREN, type 1, is the most common way of educating majority children in most countries with a large so called international language as the majority language. It is likewise used in many smaller countries which are or pretend to be linguistically homogeneous.

When the goal is MONOLINGUALISM IN THE MAJORITY LANGUAGE FOR MINORITY CHILDREN, type 2, a submersion programme is used. It is often i situation with a very strong assimilationist goal on the societal-political level culturally, but not structurally. Often structural incorporation of the minority is not allowed on an equal footing with the majority members, i.e. the minority members do not have equal rights in the educational, social and political fields and on the labour market (see Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa 1976 for an elaboration) (but often they do have the same duties, for instance as far as paying taxes is concerned (see Ekberg 1980, 1983). One of the more implicit goals in this type of programme is also that those minority children who succeed in the programmes at the same time are socialized into accepting those values which are connected with that part of the majority society which controls the schools. In that way those minority children who succeed are pacified: they are alienated from their own group, and they don't feel solidarity with those minority children who do not succeed (see e.g. Hernández-Chávez 1978). It is the "we-made-it-and-they-can-do-it-too-if-they-work-hard-enough" syndrome. Those minority children, on the other hand, who don't succeed, are pacified by shame: they are made to feel that it is their own fault that they don't succeed - the "blame-the-victim" technique. This is the most common model still for most minority children in the world, assimilating the children at the same time as it prevents them from getting a good education. These programmes educate future assembly line workers and future unemployed, future losers. It is the type

of education which Nils Erik Hansegård (1972, 119) calls "language-shift education" or "cultural genocide".

MONOLINGUAL EDUCATION THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF A MINORITY LANGUAGE can be of three different kinds. If the goal is MONOLINGUALISM IN THE MINORITY LANGUAGE FOR MINORITY CHILDREN, type 3, a segregation or apartheid programme is used, for instance the education for different African groups in different "home lands", Bantustans, in South Africa, or typically for Turkish but also for other guest worker children expecially in Bavaria but also in other parts of West Germany (but see Tsiakalos, forthcoming). In this type of programme the implicit societal goal may be described as twofold, depending on the minority. With indigenous groups like the ones in South Africa, reproduction of apartheid and isolation from other subordinated groups seems to be the goal. The physical segregation here helps the linguistic one and therefore the linguistic one doesn't need to be as strict as it might otherwise. Besides, the Africans are needed in their capacity as workers also in jobs which require communication with the dominant group, so they cannot be "kept" completely monolingual in their own languages, but the education sees to it that they don't learn enough of the power language to be able to influence the society even linguistically, or, especially, to acquire a common language with other subordinated groups, a shared medium of communication and analysis, a prerequisite for solidarity and common action. The linguistic segregation is a central part of the Bantustan policy, both in South Africa and in Namibia, and that puts, for instance, SWAPO in a difficult situation where political unity (exemplified already in the early fights against the contract labour system) on one hand and educational considerations on the other hand might demand different solutions for language choice for independent Namibia (UNIN 1981, SWAPO 1982, Angula 1982).

In the case of guest worker minorites where one of the societal goals in education is to keep the children uninte-

grated, ready to be sent home whenever their parents' labour is not needed anymore or they themselves become too expensive, this type of education prepares the children for repatriation at the same time as it prevents them from getting their share of the goods and services of the mainstream majority society if they (are allowed to) stay. Segretation is here a combination of physical (housing, guest worker schools and classes) and psychological segregation (discrimination, racism).

MONOLINGUAL EDUCATION THE GOAL OF WHICH IS BILINGUALISM FOR MINORITY CHILDREN, type 4, is a language shelter, maintenance or mother tongue medium programme. Good examples are the Swedish-medium schools for the Swedish-speaking indigenous minority in Finland, the mother tongue medium classes for immigrant children in Sweden, or the Francophone schools in English Canada. These programmes have arisen as a protest against suppression of minorities, and often their existence shows that the minority community has started a dynamic struggle to get their share of the goods and services of the mainstream society. Often these programmes also reflect a revitalization situation, like for instance Ukrainians in Canada. Sometimes they also reflect a situation where the minority had more power earlier when the programmes came into existence, but even in these situations (like the one for the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland, a former power-majority) the programmes now seem to fulfil the same purpose for the children as "regular" maintenance programmes.

MONOLINGUAL EDUCATION THE GOAL OF WHICH IS BILINGUALISM FOR MAJORITY CHILDREN, type 5, is the Canadian speciality, immersion programmes in their earlier grades, before the instruction through the medium of the L1 of the children has started. These types of programmes are likely to arise in situations where a linguistic majority needs to become bilingual for instrumental (not integrative) reasons, in order not to lose old privileges or in order to get new benefits or privileges, guaranteed for bilinguals. This

is a situation where a minority has become strong enough to get through demands for bilingualism and benefits for bilinguals, thus forcing a new group, namely majority members, to want to become bilingual.

The last two models, types 4 and 5, monolingual education with bilingualism as the goal, seem to lead to very good results for both minority and majority children. The monolingual instruction in these programmes is always conducted in that language which the children otherwise would be less likely to learn to an advanced level, expecially in its more formal aspects, in the society outside school. And that it for both majority and minority children the minority language, i.e. for the majority children it is a foreign (or second) language, but for the minority children their mother tongue.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION THE GOAL OF WHICH IS MONOLINGUALISM FOR MINORITY CHILDREN, type 6, may sound a bit harsh, because a complete monolingualism is not the goal here, either. But characteristic of this type of programme is that the goal is assimilation, too. It is said, often even officially, that the children need not be taught bilingually (or even have instruction in their mother tongue as a subject in many cases) any more, when they have learnt enough of the majority language to be able to follow instruction through the medium of the majority language. All the transitional bilingual programmes belong to this type.

The last type, 7, is BILINGUAL EDUCATION THE GOAL OF WHICH IS BILINGUALISM. It is a type of education where great concern is placed on trying to reach high levels of competence in both languages, and where a realistic evaluation is made of how much support each language needs. If there are both majority and minority children in bilingual programmes, mutuality is absolutely essential. BOTH GROUPS SHOULD LEARN BOTH LANGUAGES. More time should be spent with the minority language. If the minority children are the only ones to

become bilingual, and the majority children learn but a few songs and phrases of the minority language, then it is closer to the situation described earlier as bilingual education leading to monolingualism, even if it may be good for the attitudes of majority children.

The types presented could also be seen as forming a progression, where types 2, 3 and 6 (and 1) do not respond to the needs of individual children and do not give them the advantages that high levels of bilingualism can lead to - quite the opposite, they can be disastrous at least for individual minority children. They do, however, respond to the needs of some sections of society, the ones profiting on lack of equality in the world - otherwise they wouldn't continue. Programmes 4, 5 and 7 give all children good chances. And of course, in an ideal society of equality, peace and mutual understanding, all children should be educated at least bilingually.

Typology of conditions for second language learning

The second typology which is presented here only in summary has to do with some of the important factors which influence second language learning. The table compares some of the programmes just discussed in how well they succeed in organising circumstances conducive to the best possible L2-learning for the child. The starting point in the discussions is that the most important process in both learning and acquiring L2 is, that the school gives the child the necessary prerequisites for converting input (what the learner gets when she is exposed to L2, orally or in writing) to intake, i.e. something that is processed and retained. Especially when it is a second language situation where the child has a chance of getting a lot of input outside school anyway, these prerequisites seem to be decisive for how much learning occurs.

I have grouped the prerequisites in three groups: affective factors, cognitive-linguistic-social L2-related factors, and cognitive-linguistic-social L1-related factors.

Table 2

Requirement	Programme: Immersion	Submersion	Segregation	Maintenance
1. Affective factors				
a. Low levels of anxiety	yes	no	no	yes
b. High internal motivation	yes	no	no	yes
c. High levels of self-confidence	yes	no	no	yes
2. Cognitive-linguistic-social L2-related factors				
a. Input adapted to student's level	yes	no	yes?	yes
b. Input from equal peers outside shool	no	no	no	yes?
3. Cognitive-linguistic-social L1-related factors				
a. Adequate cognitive development in L1	yes	no?	yes?	yes
b. Adequate linguistic development in L1	yes	no	can be	yes?
c. Enough knowledge of the world (=subject matter) given	yes	no	can be	yes
d. Help from a bilingual teacher	yes	no?	can be	yes

1. Requirements for making the affective filter low - affective factors:

a. low levels of anxiety, springing from a feeling that the child is being given credit for her real performance and judged in a fair way, where her imperfect command of L2 is not interpreted as a deficit but where interlanguage is seen as natural for a learner

b. high internal motivation, reflecting an acceptance of the child, her language and culture. A possibility to react and be understood both non-verbally and through the medium of L1, and to get help from bilingual teachers when the child's attempts to understand or produce something in L2 fail. A possibility to choose when the child wants to start using L2,

instead of being forced to use it (which would be an external motivation.
c. high levels of self-confidence, based on acceptance, a feeling of having a fair chance to succeed, and repeated experience of success, in communicating and otherwise

2. Requirements for getting comprehensible input in L2 - cognitive-linguistic-social L2-related factors:

a. input in school which is adapted to the linguistic level of a learner of L2 (together with other learners, not native speakers of L2), especially in the beginning of L2-studies when the child does not get much out of outside-school-input
b. input outside school from understanding, equal peers, with a possibility of gaining high status and being accepted on equal footing

3. Requirements for developing instruments to analyse the input and make it intake - cognitive-linguistic-social L1-related factors:

a. adequate cognitive development in the mother tongue, in order to give the child good possibilities to infer, to use contextual cues, to analyse etc. and in order to help the development of the common underlying basis for all language development, L1 and L2, means to analyse the input
b. adequate linguistic development in the mother tonge, in order for the child to be familiar with ways of realising cognitive categories linguistically at least in one language (including familiarity with more complex standard language, and good reading and writing skills)
c. enogh background knowledge, knowledge of the world (Krashen 1981), given through the medium of the child's L1, so that the child is familiar with the topics discussed in L2 in order to understand more and get more comprehensible input
d. help from a bilingual teacher, who can explain, give examples, compare, and give rules when the child asks for it, after first having defined something as a problem.

When we compare the different programmes in table 2 in order to see what possibilities they give for second language learning, the same picture emerges which already the earlier typology gave: submersion and segregation programmes give poor possibilities, while immersion and maintenance programmes seem to give a fair chance to succeed.

Through these comparisons it should be clear that

- it is not axiomatic that L1 is always the best medium for instruction, if the goal is bilingualism
- monolingual programmes can often reach the goal of bilingualism better than bilingual programmes, at least when they are monolingual initially
- the basic principle in all education which has bilingualism as its goal should be:
  GIVE ALL POSSIBLE INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT TO THE LANGUAGE WHICH OTHERWISE IS LESS LIKELY TO DEVELOP IN A FORMAL/ACADEMIC REGISTER

When one tries to summarise the implications for the Nordic countries of accepting the rationale which the typologies and the existing empirical evidence lead to, it should read something like this:

If research results were to guide educational planning, then the Nordic school systems would defer the majority languages (Finnish, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Icelandic) as media of instruction during the first 6 years of schooling in respectively Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland. Every child in these countries would be educated through the medium of a minority language, which for majority children would be a foreign or second language, but for minority children their mother tongue.

Do research results guide educational planning?

What is the situation, then? To what extent has the rationale been implemented?

To start with immersion programmes: there is not one single immersion programme in Scandinavia. And no plans to start any, either. One example is enough: at an international conference in Stockholm in 1982, organised to see what Swedes could learn from international experience, after Wallace Lambert's paper some participants suggested starting immersion programmes in Finnish for Swedish children. A representative of the Swedish National Board of Education said that the Board follows the results of the emergency programmes - a symptomatic slip? - very closely, and is interested, but he didn't think it was possible to find 30 Swedish-speaking parents in Sweden who would like to put their children in classes where they would be taught through the medium of Finnish. Now it is of course impossible to tell whether this is true or not, but the attitude itself - in a country with over 8 million people you wouldn't find 30 non-Finns who would like their children to learn Finnish in this way - is amazing. Finland is the country which Sweden has most co-operation with of all the countries in the world, almost regardless of how you define cooperation. There are at least some 300.000 speakers of Finnish in Sweden, the largest minority in Sweden. Knowledge of Finnish is already valued on the labour market in Sweden and its importance is growing. If a similar suggestion was made for the Same language in Sweden or Norway, or about Inuit in Denmark - would you be able to find 30 Swedish-, Norwegian- or Danish-speaking parents who would like to have their children educated through the medium of Same or Inuit - the central educational authorities might respond in the same way - no. By contrast, if you asked the central educational authorities if there would be 30 parents who would like to have their children educated through the medium of English or French, I'm pretty sure that the authorities would say: no difficulties, we can easily find them.

Submersion is the main model of instruction for all other minorities in Scandinavia except Swedish-speakers in Fin-

land, Faroese-speakers in the Faroe-islands and German-speakers in Southern Denmark. Inuits in Greenland are starting to get more and more Inuit-medium education, as Denmark is forced to withdraw from Greenland in the slow decolonisation process. But all other minorities, both indigenous and immigrant, have to fight for mother tongue medium education, constantly fiercely opposed by the majorities. The group which has come furthest is the Finnish immigrant group in Sweden, but even among them less than 20% of the children in comprehensive schools get their instruction through the medium of Finnish in maintenance programmes. In the autumn 1981 10.6% of all pupils with another "home language" than Swedish in the comprehensive schools in Sweden were in mother tongue medium classes - there were 600 such classes in a dozen of different languages. In addition there were 284 transitional compound classes (with both Swedish children and children for one immigrant language group, where the immigrant children got a part of their instructional through their L1) (SCB 1982:17). The mother tongue is used during the first two years as a bridge to the majority language for some Same children, especially in Norway, but otherwise the picture is almost blank - there are almost no maintenance programmes in Norway, Denmark and Finland (and Iceland has not minorities to speak of).

Why is it, then, that research results do not guide educational planning? In many other aspects of child care, research results are adhered to pretty closely in all Nordic countries - why not here?

Racism in Scandinavia?

It seems to me that the fact that these rationales are not implemented, could be partly a result of racist attitudes, which are not openly discussed in Scandinavia. My embryonic analysis is still very much in a hypothesis-building stage, but I would like to demonstrate my thesis by considering the relationship between Sweden and Finland, Swedish and Finnish. The attitudes of Swedes towards Finns as

the largest minority group in Sweden are also reflected in Sweden's attitudes towards all the other minority groups, and Sweden's position as the biggest country in Scandinavia and the economically strongest one also makes Swedish attitudes an influential factor in determining the attidudes of the other Nordic countries.

When Scandinavians discuss racism, the two main connotations are, first that race equals colour, i.e. racism is someting to do with the relationship between black and white, and secondly, it is something that exists elsewhere.

If one tries to imply that there is racism in Scandinavia, many people, even researchers, say something like "isn't it to water down the concept - you can talk about discrimination, maybe, or prejudices, or that we are not used to foreigners and other languages and cultures, but racism'. That is too strong! Think of South Africa, and then you'll see that we don't have any racism. Besides, we have so few black people here." When analysing the relationship between say Afro-Caribbeans or Indians and the British, the colonial relationship between Britain and India and the Caribbean cannot be left out. It is one of the most important reasons for why people from those areas are now in Britain, and for why the attitudes of the British towards them (and vice versa) are the way they are. The economic reasons for migration, the arrogance, contempt and in some cases guilt of colonial countries, and the anger, bitterness and sometimes colonized consciousness of the formerly colonized can be understood only in a historical context. Even Scandinavian researchers easily see that when discussing Britain. But it has been unusual or non-existent to discuss minorities, especially immigrant but also to a certain extent indigenous minorities in Scandinavia, in terms of the same concepts which we use when discussing other colonial situations. Scandinavians often see themselves as THE part of the world which had no colonies, didn't really participate in the

oppression and colonization and enslaving of other people, and who still are the nice corner in the world, with no imperial past, present or future. It is easy for us to moralize about other countries (for instance the role of the United States, Britain, France and West Germany in actively supporting apartheid in South Africa or preventing Namibia from getting her independence), while thinking that we don't do and have never done anything like that. I haven't seen any analyses where Scandinavians relate present and past Third World exploitation by Scandinavians to Sweden's former colonial relationship to Finland, and see this as partly explaining why Finns (from the former Swedish colony) are now in Sweden as labour immigrants, and partly explaining the attitudes of Swedes towards the Finnish language and Finns, or Finnish attitudes towards Swedish and the Swedes. Sweden in several different ways profits and has always profited from colonialism, both its own and that of others. But the parallells between our own Scandinavian colonialism and that of others are not fully drawn.

I see the negative Swedish reactions towards both Swedes learning Finnish in immersion programmes, and Finns being allowed to use our own language in Sweden as a natural medium of instruction in maintenance programmes as results of a specifically Swedish type of racism, which is difficult to detect, analyse and fight, because of Sweden's active forgetting, almost denial, of its colonial past vis-a-vis Finland. As a result the relationship between dominant and dominated is obscured, and a conflict avoidance strategy, which is culturally typical of Sweden, is developed. And this strategy is one of the strategies used to affirm racism. I will finish by giving two short examples, one of the reproduction of the denial of the colonial relationship, and one of the conflict avoidance strategy used to rationalize the relationship in order to avoid discussing it in terms of a former colonial relationship.

Denial of the former colonial relationship

1155 First Swedish crusade to Finland. Finland becomes "part of the Kingdom of Sweden", i.e. colonized
1809 Sweden surrenders Finland to Russia. Czar makes Finland an autonomous Grand Duchy
1917 Finnish declaration of independence. First recognized by Russia, France, Germany and Sweden
1919 Present Constitution adopted. Finland becomes a republic

When we were taught history in school, both in Finland and in Sweden, the relationship between Finland and Sweden was never described in the textbooks, or discussed, in terms of a colonial relationship. We learned that Finland was part of Sweden, with the same rights as all the other parts. The official representatives of the Finnish and Swedish hosts of this Conference have also used the same expression, part of Sweden. But there are all the hallmarks of a colonial situation: Sweden imposed its administration, laws and religion on us. Both Finnish money, i.e. taxes, and Finnish soldiers served the interests of Sweden (and also the interest of Denmark during the union era). Finland was"given" to different people according to the interests of Sweden, Danmark, the Hanseatic League and Russia, without ever asking us Finns. And Sweden imposed its own language on Finland, and denied the native languages, Finnish and Same, all rights in administration and education. Most of us Finland Swedes have ancestors who came from Sweden. Cultural racism is affirmed just in this way, in how history books present a colonial relationship. According to the World Council of Churches (from Hicks 1980, 35), racism is affirmed in three ways: "first, by means of self-exaltation on the part of the dominant group which creates an idealistic image of itself; second, by degradation of the dominated group, and the suppression and stagnation cf its culture, institutions, lifestyles and ideas; the third, by systematic rationalization of the relationships between both groups, always favourable to the dominant group". And presenting

Finland as part of Sweden is just such a rationalization. Another example of it: it is said that there was no opposition in Finland against being part of Sweden, because there were no nationalistic sentiments. In fact Finns didn't experience themselves as Finns, as forming a nation apart from Sweden, at that time, this coming only later, in the nineteenth century - or so we are told. It is a typical example of rationalization, because criteria used to define a national identity are the criteria of much later times, not the criteria which might have been used 800 years ago and which might have yielded a picture more closely resembling the type of resistance we now connect with colonial situations. The Finnish peasant uprisings are for instance always analyzed, if at all, in terms of a class struggle, not as a freedom fight against colonial rule.

Conflict avoidance strategy

It seems to be one of the national characteristics of Sweden politically that all decisions should as far as possible be consensus decisions (see the articles in Vad är svensk kultur?,("What is Swedish culture?")1981). It is brutal and uncivilized to hint at conflicts - they are denied. Elaborate strategies are developed to assure conflict avoidance. Here is one example from minority education and how conflicts noticed by outsiders are censored. The National Board of Education in Sweden asked professor Christina Bratt Paulston from Pittsburgh to write a critical review of the Swedish research and debate about bilingualism in immigrant education. She is a Swede who has lived her whole adult life in the U.S., which means that she is not fully socialized into Swedish conflict avoidance. When her report was translated into Swedish, every mention of conflict between Sweden and either Finland or Finns in Sweden was omitted, among them the following words or sentences which were in her original English version and which I have underlined (while what has been ADDED is capitalized):

Table 3

Original English version	Swedish version
The Swedish and Finnish governments seem to be at odds over Swedish policies vis a vis Finnish in Sweden (p. 27)	-
What the Finns are about is not ethnic boundary maintenance but rather extended geographic nationalism (see e.g. Similä, 1980) or in the words of one rector "Finnarna är sjövilda. Dom vill ha lilla Finland (from my fieldnotes, March 1982) ... The rector presumably was reacting to the militance, typical of national movements, of the Finnish organizations (riksförbund), while the assimilating Finns do not organize and go quietly about their business (pp. 45-46)	What the Finns are about is not ethnic boundary maintenance but rather extended geographic nationalism (see e.g. Similä, 1980).
The situation does present a dilemma: the Finns probably best stand to profit by bilingual education at the same time as many Swedes are put off by the aggressivenes and militance of the Finnish demands (p. 46)	The situation does present a dilemma: the Finns probably best stand to profit by bilingual education BUT many Swedes are put off by WHAT THEY INTERPRET AS aggressivenes IN the Finnish demands (p. 42)

Omitting discussion about conflict in a racist situation makes the situation appear as one where the dominant nation, i.e. Sweden, is nice and reasonable and willing to give the minority a lot of benefits, while the aggressive, militant minority is being difficult and accusing the majority for no apparent reason. Legitimate anger and bitterness are neutralized by ignoring them and making them seem unreasonable. It would not look legitimate for Sweden to have the role it tries to play internationally (as the conscience of the world) if Swedes were to remind themselves of their colonial past vis-a-vis Finland and the reflection of it in the present-day attitudes of Swedes towards Finns in Sweden (and through that tradition also towards other minority groups in Sweden). It is also therefore important for Sweden actively to forget its colonial past. Since there is the same type of arrogance, contempt and guilt in Sweden as there is in most colonial countries

toward former colonies and their inhabitants, language and culture, that also has to be denied and transformed, in order not to recall the colonial past. And that has been transformed to nice paternalism, good will and conflict avoidance. And the anger and bitterness of the formerly colonized - expecially those who have been taught for centuries that they were not colonized and who have internalized a colonized consciousness - must then also be denied altogether, or at least labelled in some other way.

But the denied facts and feelings show up in the fierce opposition towards the language and culture of the formerly colonized.

Concluding remarks

The border minorities of German-speakers in Denmark and Danish-speakers in Germany have certain autonomous status and educational and linguistic rights, for German in Denmark and Danish in Germany in those areas where the minorities live. It would be logical for Finns in Sweden and Swedish-speakers in Finland to have the same. Even if many of the Finns in Sweden have come only recently, there has been a continuous Finnish-speaking minority in Sweden for as long as we know, and the fact that they were denied their linguistic rights hundreds of years ago, shouldn't be used as an excuse for denying the Finnish-speakers now living in Sweden those rights too, continuing an old tradition of linguistic oppression.

Just like all school children in Finland learn Swedish at school, in order to be able to communicate both with members of the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland and with Swedes (school Swedish doesn't allow them to communicate with Norwegians or Danes), it should be equally natural for all Swedish school children to learn Finnish in school, to be able to communicate both with the members of the Finnish minority in Sweden and Finns in Finland. What, then, can explain the differential attitudes towards the

learning of the neigbouring country's language (i.e. in one country all school children, in the other not even 30 to be found), if not the old colonial relationship and attitudes it has created, attitudes which are now denied.

If my hypothesis is correct, both the assimilationist tendencies and opposition towards mother tongue medium programmes and the lack of immersion programmes should be analyzed not as any kind of a healthy suspicion among majority Scandinavians, expecially here Swedes, towards something they don't know anything about or where some of them believe that researchers don't agree and where they want to be careful for that reason. They should instead be analyzed as power conflicts with a very clear basis in attitudes, informed by historical events which both the colonized but expecially the colonizers have tried to forget and which both feel a bit embarrassed about, but which nevertheless influence both, and cause them at times to behave in an even more irrational and emotional way than otherwise.

Unless both the power conflicts, the colonial past and the racist attitudes are admitted and analyzed, there is no way to come with an adequate analysis, and to try to change the state of affairs. I don't foresee that the Nordic countries would in a near future let their whole educational planning be guided by research results, so that the rationale would be implemented the way I envisaged earlier in this article. But I see no obstacles for changning at least so much, that for instance the Finnish children in Sweden don't need to wait another 450 years before they get their own Finnish-medium schools in Sweden, and so that the first immersion programmes for Swedish children through the medium of Finnish - or Turkish, Greek, Serbocroat, etc. - could start before the third international conference on Minority Languages takes place.

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Intercommunicative and intercultural competence

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas & Robert Phillipson

The purpose of this paper is to present a tentative framework for analysing intercommunicative and intercultural competence and to consider their teachability in foreign and second language learning. As a means of coming to grips with these issues, we shall first analyze a number of examples which have in common that the communication is problematical. In all of them there is at least the risk of a communication breakdown or communication disruption.

The participants in our examples are of three kinds:
- learner + native speaker (Danish and English respectively, communication in English)
- native speakers of two languages, each using their mother tongue and understanding the other language (Swedish and English)
- native speakers of two languages, using a third to communicate in (Swedish and Chinese, communicating in English).

We define communication disruption as occurring when mutual comprehension is impaired
- by the learner being manifestly in trouble in understanding an utterance or in putting across what she/he wants to say (cf Haastrup & Phillipson 1983, 143), or by the native speaker not understanding a learner utterance
- by one or both of the speakers not being able to understand the cultural meaning of a concept or the cultural context of a stretch of discourse.

Presence of a communication disruption will often be signalled by hesitation or non-verbal signals (see Færch & Kasper 1983 b). Either one or both of the speakers may

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have recourse to a communication strategy.

The nature of the communication disruption may be exclusively or mostly linguistic (a language code problem), or at the other extreme, it may be exclusively or mostly cultural, or it may involve both linguistic and cultural elements. When trying to solve the problem, the participants have to use their communicative or cultural competence or both.

Participants may or may not be aware that there is a communication disruption. If they themselves are not aware of the presence of a communication disruption, the presence of one can still be inferred by the researcher, for instance it may be apparent from the outcome. If the participants are aware of the disruption, they may or may not have the motivation to do something about it. If they have such motivation, they may or may not be able to locate the source of the difficulty. If they are able to locate the source, they may or may not be able to do something about it[1].

EXAMPLE 1

The first video extract comes from a 20-minute conversation between a native speaker (NS) of English (female) who has no knowledge of Danish, and a Danish learner (L) of the same age (male) with five years of English learning in school behind him. They have never met before, both knew they were expected to chat about their interests and were unaware or the research goals, except in very general terms. We tried to set up an informal, relaxed

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1. These distinctions parallel the components which we are going to use later in analysing competence. Being or not being aware would correspond to metacommunicative and metacultural awareness, motivation to the affective component, being able to locate to the knowledge component, and being able to do something to the behavioural component.

situation in which genuine communication could be elicited[2]. The two are discussing people moving out of Copenhagen to the surrounding region. The extract shows a learner with a lexical problem: he does not know the term for a detached house in English. Initially he borrows the Danish equivalent "parcelhus".

Transcript	Comment	Strategies
NS: why do you think they do that?		
L: mm they want a 'parcelhuset'	= a detached house	borrowing
NS: uhuh what's that?		
L: erm it's a house erm it it's not an apartment	gesture indicates a plot of land	paraphrase +non-verbal
NS: mm		
L: but it's a big house where just THEY live	gesture models a house	paraphrase +non-verbal
NS: oh I see a a sort of totally detached house	gesture, in shape of a house	
L: yeah		

(Haastrup & Phillipson 1983, 147)

In this example both the learner and the native speaker
- are aware of the disruption. They are very interested in trying to communicate with each other and are
- motivated to solve the problem, which is
- easy to locate, because it is clearly a lexical one. Both have
- the cultural competence needed, i.e. they know what a detached house looks like in each culture. They also have

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2. Examples 1 and 4 come from the Copenhagen project PIF (Projekt I Fremmedsprogspædagogik - project in foreign language pedagogy). One part of the spoken corpus consists of 120 videotaped 20-minute conversations between Danish learners and native speakers of English. Details of project publications can be obtained from PIF, Engelsk Institut, Njalsgade 84, 2300 Copenhagen S, Denmark.

- the communication strategies available to solve the problem: first the learner resorts to an L1-based strategy, namely borrowing from Danish, which baffles the native speaker, who asks for clarification. The learner uses two paraphrases together with gestures, the native speaker then provides the appropriate lexical item, and
- the problem is solved.

EXAMPLE 2

Our next example comes from our experience when translating a book about Chinese pre-school education from Swedish to English (Liljeström et al, in press). A group of six Swedish professionals from different fields visited China. In their book they compare Chinese upbringing and child health care and the ideologies underpinning them with the corresponding Swedish or Western ones. In translating the book we were then dealing with two languages, Swedish and English, and three cultures, Swedish, Chinese and British (with glances at other cultures of native English-speakers outside Britain). It should perhaps be noted that each of us is native, both linguistically and culturally, to one of the languages involved. Our examples are of two notions. These have different meanings in the two (or three) cultures, so that a translation which would be purely linguistically correct in other contexts or correct use of a concept without trying to define it would lead to misunderstandings, because of the different cultural contexts. The concepts we use as examples are "discussion" and "obedience".

The Swedish text states that in relation to a particular social policy issue there have been "diskussioner", but a literal translation of this into English as "discussions" is inappropriate. A non-Swedish reader cannot be expected to understand "discussions" as meaning fierce disputes and conflicts, which is what the Swedish author is euphemistically referring to. The English translation has to be "disputes" or "contention". Swedish culture is often described by cultural anthropologists as conflict-

avoiding (cf Alsmark 1981, Bratt Paulston 1982, Carle, Schale & Bjurström 1981), and there is a strong tendency to state matters in an ultra-discreet, non-provocative way. Constructive conflicts are a good thing, but it is a sign of bad manners to talk about conflicts - they have to be called something else.

Translating "diskussioner" as "disputes" shows that
- we are aware of the risk of misunderstanding, and
- are as translators motivated to avoid it. We are also
- able to locate this as
- a cultural rather than a linguistic problem, and can
- draw on relevant cultural knowledge
- to solve the problem.

Our first two examples, the "detached house" and "diskussioner=disputes", are examples of communication problems being successfully solved. The problem in the first example was primarily linguistic and in the second primarily cultural. Next we shall move to problems which do not get solved.

EXAMPLE 3
Had we instead translated "diskussioner" as "discussions", this would have been a clear case of
- the language users not being aware of the potential communication disruption, hence
- motivation to avoid this, and
- ability to locate the problem, whether of a linguistic or a cultural kind, does not arise, thus
- the problem is not solved.

Only a bilingual-bicultural analyst would be able to notice the problem, and the English-speaking reader of the book would be deprived of some of the cultural content of the source text. Even if examples 2 and 3 use written data, the analysis can be generalized to oral communication situations as well. In fact in spoken interaction, communication disruptions due to lexical transference from L1 may be

easier to spot, both for participants and for analysts, because of the possibility of immediate feedback.

EXAMPLE 4

In our fourth example (see note 2), we again have a native speaker interacting with a learner. The lack of symmetry between the participants is almost complete, with on the one hand, a native speaker, male and distinctly middle class, on the other, a learner, female and working class. This type of situation can be described in terms of unequal power relations, great distance and low degree of solidarity (eg. Scollon & Scollon 1983) all of which can be seen in the participants' non-verbal communication too. What the participants in this example do manage to talk about is multinational popular youth culture (films, pop music etc.). Whereas when it comes to more personal matters there is a serious cultural breakdown. Irrespective of the linguistic competence of the interlocutors, the boy's lack of awareness of the girl's economic and social conditions is enough to cause communication disruptions. The girl has told him, earlier on on the tape

- that her mother is a widow
- that the mother does not work outside the home because
- she has three small children to take care of, meaning most probably
- that they live on social welfare, and
- that the girl works at a baker's shop 17 hours every week-end, in order to make ends meet.

Even so he enquires whether she spends her holidays abroad and will go on to upper secondary school, the Danish "gymnasium".

The physical differences between the participants are also striking. He is well-groomed, self-confident, aloof and superficially friendly; his gestures and body movements are few but well-rehearsed. She is short, very overweight, plainly dressed and with no make-up; her hair is short, straight and looks greasy; she smiles and titters nervously throughout the conversation, sitting with hunched shoulders;

she is anxious to please, despite her discomfort and clear lack of self-confidence in the situation. Underlining indicates simultaneous speech.

"NS during the summer holidays er what sort of things do you do

L mm - tst - I go to the movie

NS yeah

L and - I go to some friends and we talked and

NS yeah don't you erm go abroad to erm Germany France

L no (laughs)

NS you

L no I didn't

NS you don't

L no

NS would you like to go abroad

L yes

NS so what countries would you like to visit

L Engli´ England

NS why England

L I love it (laughs) I like erm German too but - - I didn't have the chance to get there

NS no - so if you were able to go to England what sort of things would you be doing in England

L erm I like to work

NS you'd like to work there

L yes as a air pair "pige" er air pair girl

NS au pair girl yeah

L yeah - or in a shop if I can do it mm

NS yeah - (laughs)

L (laughs)

NS that's not too bad erm for the future what sort of things would you like to do

L I er like to do er I like to be a "picolain" if it you know what's that is

NS no try and explain it

L it's erm a a person who er ran to the office with letters and food and everything

NS mm I think I know what er you

L oh

NS mean then er - so are you thinking of going on to gymnasium

L no

NS no

L no (laughs)

NS (laughs) so you want to leave school

L yes (laughs)

NS so you can work

L I have a j' er I can catch er a job in the Righos' Rigs-hospital

NS yeah

L and I think I have it (laughs)

NS you can get it

L yeah

NS oh er I was in er Rigshospitalet er when I first came to Denmark for two weeks had er something wrong with my leg

L ah

NS and they fixed it so so you want to work there what about when you get married are you going to get married

L yes (laughs) I will have two children

NS two children

L a girl and a boy

NS a girl and a boy

L yes I like small children very much

NS yeah so how old is your youngest sister

L she's three years yeah

NS she's three yeah I think you just told me I can't couldn't remember at all."

Looking at this extract from the point of view of the communication disruption with "picolain", both are
- aware that the learner lacks a lexical item for "office messenger". She provides a paraphrased exemplification to get the concept of this job across, and the native speaker claims to understand. One can question whether he has
- the motivation to contribute to solving the problem.

The learner
- resorts to an appropriate communication strategy, but there is
- doubt about the outcome
- as we can infer from the complete inappropriacy of the native speaker's follow-up question "so are you thinking of going on to gymnasium?"

What could be seen as an isolated linguistic, lexical problem, turns out to be a problem of intercultural mismatch, which is difficult to locate. Neither of the participants has enough insight into the other person's national culture (or subculture) and at least the boy is unaware of both her class culture and of the unstated presuppositions of his own class culture and what this implies for communication. Is it fair to conclude that complete interlinguistic competence might still fail to result in mutual understanding?

EXAMPLE 5

Our fifth example again comes from the China book. Speaking English, the Chinese and the Swedes or the interpreter use concepts like obedience. On many occasions the Swedes note that one or the other or both parties simply do not understand each other. This occurs for instance when the

Swedes ask how conflicts caused by aggressive behaviour are solved in the pre-school. Chinese pre-school children are simply not aggressive. This is difficult to understand for the Swedes (even if they can observe it), and the Chinese have difficulties in understanding what the Swedes are asking about (even if they are familiar with these questions from other Western delegations).
The Swedish sociologist Rita Liljeström analyses the notion of obedience in the two cultures (Liljeström et al., in press):

"While being obedient is almost suspect in Sweden, it is endorsed as something positive in China ... Obedience is interpreted as subordination and resignation in Sweden and as confirmation and identification in China ... While we have reacted against authoritarian leadership, the Chinese have laid emphasis on the good teacher and the force of example ... Among us Swedes I detect a tendency to be exhilarated whenever we meet noisy or slightly boisterous children, children who interrupt grown-ups or step out of line. Someone exclaims: "A healthy sign! " We applaud any deviation, every departure from the pattern. What does this say about us? What do we take for granted?

	Implications of:	
	Obeying	Not obeying
[Sweden]	Drill Collective discipline/ uniformity	Revolt, freedom Individuality Creativity
[China]	Co-ordination Shared goals Solidarity	Deviance Egoism Disruption "

Liljeström shows that the participants are mostly
- aware of the communication disruption. They
- want to understand, and they can
- locate it as not a linguistic but a cultural problem.
  Many of the Swedes have at least some of
- the theoretical intercultural background knowledge needed, or acquire it during the trip, and many of them try in their articles to use it.

Several of them analyze the Chinese notion of obedience and the corresponding Swedish notion. They compare them, and they even try to analyze their own Swedish or Western notions as a Chinese would see them. But still they

- do not succeed in solving their communication problems completely.

Our analysis is that their understanding is blocked because they lack the affective element in their cultural competence. We will come back to this later, in analyzing cultural competence.

EXAMPLE 6

Our last example comes from our own communication, and is, we suspect, common in many intercultural marriages and generally in intercultural contact. We often have discussions (or are they disputes?) resulting in at least partial misunderstandings, the cause of which we are unable to locate. We suspect that over and above the type of marital disagreements and misunderstandings that are more or less normal in monolingual monocultural marriages too, we still have a specific group where breakdowns are of an interlinguistic and/or intercultural kind. We could provide plenty of examples of linguistic and especially cultural difference which affect our communication, but it is logically impossible for us to supply a succinct example of a disruption the cause of which we are unable to locate. We then have a situation where we are

- aware of the problem at the behavioural level but
- not always able to solve it, regardless of the
- motivation to solve it and, as we think,
- a high degree of interlinguistic and intercultural competence, which we however are unable to draw on as long as we cannot locate the problem.

To sum up our examples, several steps are involved when a communication disruption occurs (see Figure 1).

The problem remains unsolved

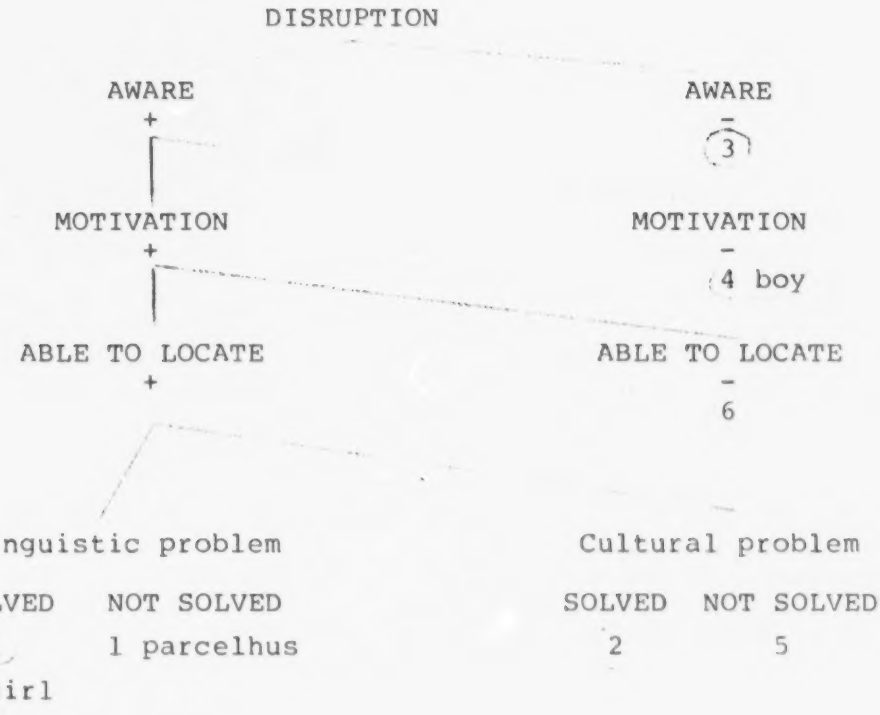
- if the participants are unaware of or do not recognize the problem, as in the "diskussion=discussion"example (3)
- if either of the participants, even though aware of the problem, lacks the motivation to solve it, as with the boy in the "picolain-gymnasium"example (4 boy)
- if the participants are both aware of the problem and motivated to solve it but are unable to locate it, as in our intercultural communication (6)
- if the participants are aware, motivated and able to locate the communication breakdown, earmark it as being primarily cultural or primarily linguistic, but where the attempts to repair fail, as in the "obedience"example (5) (a cultural problem) or the borrowing of the Danish word "parcelhus" in the "detached house"example (1).

The problem is solved

- if participants are aware that there is a problem, are motivated to solve it, able to locate it, and can either draw on appropriate cultural knowledge, as in the "diskussioner=disputes"example (2), or activate linguistic resources in order to achieve the desired effect, as with the combination of paraphrases and non-verbal strategies in the "detached house"example (1).

In interaction, solution of the problem requires that both participants actively negotiate meaning. This happens in the "detached house"example, but in the "picolain-gymnasium"example (4) the girl's adequate efforts are not matched by a corresponding motivation to negotiate on the part of the boy. Here the girl's paraphrase could have solved the problem, but mutual understanding is not reached because of the boy's unwillingness to negotiate meaning.

Figure 1



We shall now go on to make more explicit what kind of linguistic and cultural competence speakers draw on when trying to solve communication disruptions. We shall first discuss what we mean by communicative competence and cultural competence, and then try to tie them together in relation to their teachability in foreign and second language classrooms.

COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

Our conception of communicative competence (coco) operates with a combination of constituents covering

linguistic competence (lexis, grammar, orthography/phonology)

pragmatic competence (the speech acts with put linguistic competence to use, which mark appropriately for such interpersonal parameters as levels of formality or politeness - sometimes calles "speech act modality" - and discourse cohesion)

fluency, in the sense of being able to activate one's prag-

matic and linguistic competence with ease, and strategic competence, where strategic is restricted to the problem-solving devices that speakers resort to to overcome difficulties of communication, like the paraphrases used in example 1 (see Færch, Haastrup, Phillipson, 1983). All four components are necessary for any description of native speaker competence or interlanguage competence. Linguistic and pragmatic competence are related in that linguistic competence is subsumed under pragmatic comptence (called sociolinguistic competence by Canale and Swain). Fluency and strategic competence are related in the sense that they both have to do with the activation of pragmatic competence, fluency covering the speaker's ability to make use of whatever linguistic and pragmatic knowledge s/he has, while strategic competence comes into play whenever there is a problem in linguistic or pragmatic competence, for instance a gap between what a speaker wants to say and has the words for - in this sense strategic competence is compensatory.

Interlanguage studies initially concentrated on aspects of linguistic competence, eg error analysis of segmental phonetic problems or syntactic items. These were then extended in attempts to gauge native speaker tolerance of interlanguage speakers' shortcomings in each of the different components of coco. Findings that, for instance, lexical errors are vastly more disruptive than grammatical errors, but that tolerance of even lexical errors depends very much on context (Albrechtsen, Henriksen & Færch 1980) have immediate implications for language pedagogy.

There has also been a shift in interlanguage research in recent years towards a greater concern with pragmatic and strategic competence, this of course parallelling developments in language teaching.

Thus for Germany there is an increasing amount of documentation of learners' difficulties in handling the pragma-

tics of English. For instance the brusqueness or abruptness that can characterise IL users when making a request or complaint can be due to them making the speech acts more directly than native speakers do, using fewer routinized formulae, and structurally simpler ways of realizing a pragmatic function, and marking inadequately for politeness (Kasper, 1981).

A good deal of work has been done to find out what precisely strategic competence consists of, what options are open to interlanguage users, which strategies are actually used, and how successful they are (Færch, Kasper 1983). The evidence from Danish research indicates that there is a great deal of variety in the way different learners use different strategies, but that those which are interlanguage based rather than L1 based are more likely to lead to success or mutual comprehension (Haastrup, Phillipson 1983). Some work has been done in Danish schools to raise the consciousness of Danish learners in relation to strategic competence, where the provisional findings are that learners can benefit from being instructed about strategies, in particular that "weaker" students can put this increased awareness to good use. (The learners in examples 1 and 4 exploit their strategic competence effectively). It is also our impression that teachers of foreign languages consider the concept of strategic competence a godsend - it gives them a label for a pedagogical reality they are very familiar with - "Don't give up - say it in a different way" - and which helps to make coco something manageable and useful rather than abstract and elusive.

That learners can benefit from <u>metacommunicative awareness</u> holds not only for strategic competence but for all the constituents of coco. The narrow metalinguistic knowledge of the "grammar-translation" method needs to be expanded to cover knowledge of pragmatic functions, knowledge about language learning processes, and knowledge of the expected benefits from various types of language learning activity. Learners should have a general awareness of how coco can

be built up. In fact we would claim that in foreign language learning, one dimension of interlinguistic communicative competence should be metacommunicative awareness (i.e. conscious knowledge) of the constituents of the four components of coco, and how each can be pursued. For instance, one possibility would be for the learners in our examples to analyze the videotapes of them communicating with the native speakers. They could benefit not only from noting gaps in their vocabulary or pragmatic competence but also from an increased insight into the specific ways they use to try to solve communication problems and the relative success or failure of them.

A further parameter that needs consideration is the notion of context-embedded and context-reduced language, which is so prominent in North American bilingualism studies (e.g. Cummins 1980). It is certainly also relevant in discussing syllabuses for foreign languages as school subjects, but even more relevant in designing syllabuses for second language learners. Second language learners, especially children, typically acquire a good context-embedded competence outside formal instruction, and this competence often leads parents and teachers to misjudge minority children's linguistic competence (Skutnabb-Kangas 1983). The acquisition of context-reduced competence, which is imperative for scholastic success, needs much greater prominence in minority learners' syllabuses.

To sum up our consideration of coco so far, interlanguage research can clarify the nature of intercommunicative competence, can serve to identify gaps in learners' linguistic and pragmatic competence and problems in fluency and strategic competence. Such work can provide input into syllabuses which specify coco along these four parameters. Language pedagogy draws on descriptions of native speaker and interlanguage coco, and on psycholinguistic models of L2 learning, and devises language learning activities deriving from these.

FROM COCO TO CUCO

However, as we saw when tracing the genesis and solution of communication disruptions, the problems are not of a linguistic nature only. Where then does cultural competence come in? Is cultural competence a tiny sub-division of pragmatic competence - which some pragmatists might lead one to believe? Or is cultural competence, cuco, something quite distinct from communicative competence - which the division of many "modern" language departments into "Languagè" and "Literature" (meaning Kultur with a K) sections seems to imply? Meaning that novice foreign language teachers are expected to effect a merger of linguistic and cultural (meaning literary) competence on the day they start teaching. The EFL (Englich as a Foreign Language) tradition provided comprehensive training on the language side, but assumed nativeness or near-nativeness on the culture side, which therefore remained unanalyzed and not explicitly taught.

Applied linguists do not seem to have tried to make explicit the relationship between coco and cuco. Either they have shoved cuco into some sort of residual ragbag along with other unwanted or uncomfortable oddments, or it has been somehow implicit in the socio-part of sociolinguistic competence, and related to textual choice, to markers of politeness, or reduced to good or bad manners in knowing when to shut up.

Cultural anthropologists might on the other hand classify language as a tiny sub-division of culture, and linguistic or communicative competence as one part of cultural competence, not even always an important part (because there has been a lot of debate about whether or not a distinctive language is one of the defining criteria for an ethnic group). Our own notion of cultural competence draws on cultural anthropology and sociology. When assessing the relative importance of language and culture in relation to each other, we would like to stress four points:

- language operates both as a tool, an instrument, and a tie, a symbol of identification and cultural continuity. Both functions have to be considered when assessing the relative importance of language for any one situation (Skutnabb-Kangas 1983)
- the relative importance attached to linguistic and/or cultural differences is affected by the affinity, the relative closeness, of the languages and cultures involved, and the expectations the relative closeness or otherwise evokes. We can then have the paradoxical situation where the importance of linguistic or cultural differences is played down in the case of very remote languages and cultures, because one does not expect similarity and is therefore positively surprised by even small similarities, while the importance of the differences may be accentuated in the case of closely related languages and/or cultures because one expects affinity and therefore notices even small differences with dismay
- "cultural groups differ in the extent to which they emphasize their native tongues as core values" ("those values that are regarded as forming the most fundamental components of a group's culture ... the heartland of the ideological system ... identifying values which are symbolic of the group and its membership" (Smolicz 1983,11). Thus for some cultural groups their culture can be maintained even if the members are unable to speak the language (Irish, unable to speak Gaelic). But for most cultural groups their language is the "principal carrier of their culture" (Smolicz 1983, 11). This relative importance of language for a cultural group explains much of the inter-individual variation in the significance accorded to culture and language respectively
- different situations call for different group loyalties to be acted out. In some situations the gender loyalty may be overriding (Tove identifying with a woman from another language group rather than with a man from the same language group). In other situations a joint ideological commitment or the shared experience of belonging to oppressed groups may be more important than sharing a

language. This explains much of the intra-individual variation.

In discussing cultural competence we are especially concerned with two issues: 1. can somebody have a native or near-native cultural competence in two or more cultures? and 2. to what extent can cultural competence be taught in foreign and second language classrooms?

The first question, the existence of genuine biculturalism, is parallel to the question of the possibility of genuine bilingualism, where the old negative view was that bilingualism was an unfortunate temporary phase between monolingualism in one language and monolingualism in another language. This process of language change was thought to take no more than three or four generations. During the time when bilingualism was looked upon in this negative way (and some people, even some researchers still do so) many phenomena, typical of bilinguals, were conceptualized and labelled in a negative way. Is this true of biculturalism now?

CULTURAL COMPETENCE

Cultural competence (cuco) can be analyzed in terms of three components or constituents, cognitive, affective and behavioural.

The cognitive/intellectual/scholastic/literary component relates to knowledge of the relevant culture. In the broadest definition of culture the cognitive component also includes knowledge of the language/languages pertaining to that culture. It includes knowing something about the history of that culture, knowing how different institutions function, how people behave and react, what they grow, eat, drink and think, how they live, what they wear, read, write and do, how they pattern their family life and how they bring up their children. We therefore operate with a very broad definition of culture covering both the material and ideological ways in which a group

organizes, understands and reproduces its life as a group. To a large extent these are things which can be taught, also to a certain extent to people who do not live in that culture, for instance to pupils in a foreign language classroom or to Swedes visiting China. And it is also important to stress that this type of cultural knowledge is something people can have about many different cultures at the same time. Knowing many cultures from this cognitive point of view is something additive. Knowledge relating to different cultures is not in competition. Rather knowing more about new cultures may add to the knowledge of those cultures that one already knows, especially ons's own, because the cultures are compared and contrasted and the differences highlight typical traits in each culture.

The affective/empathetic /identification component relates to one's (deep, positive) feelings about and attitudes towards a culture, an understanding of it from the inside, and an identification with it or parts of it, which includes accepting (most of) its norms and values (or, in cases where one does not accept them, still feeling so strongly about them that abandoning them requires a lot of emotional effort). For this type of feeling to develop, a person needs one of two things: either you have to grow up in that culture and become socialized into it at an age when you take it as self-evident because people you are close to mediate the culture to you and because you are not able to be analytically critical yet. Or, if these feelings come later in life, you have to have a very strong emotional motivation to become part of that culture, mostly either because you love somebody who comes from that culture, as in many mixed marriages, or sometimes because you reject your own culture and want to find something better (as many of those refugees who wanted to leave their country and who do not want to go back). An instrumental motivation, in Lambert's terms, does not seem to be enough.

Mostly the affective component of cultural competence is

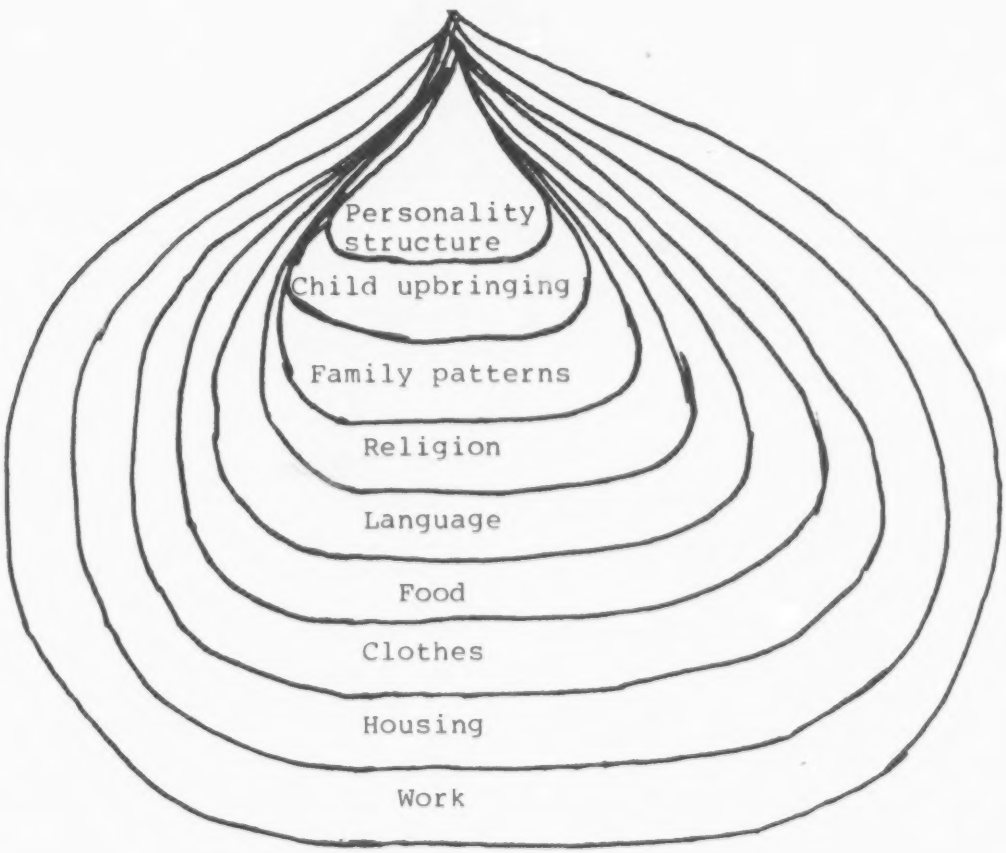
something that cannot be taught, it has to be acquired by lived experience. That means that it is very difficult to teach in a foreign language classroom. It may be possible though to support the learning of it in a second language classroom for instance when teaching immigrants, even if most of the learning itself takes place outside the classroom.

We may also hypothesize that a strong affective component of cuco, a firm attachment to more than one culture, can be more problematic than having a cognitive knowledge of many cultures. This should obviously more often be the case if the two cultures have contradictory norms which cannot coexist simultaneously in the same person. This might for instance be the case if one of the cultures teaches that women should be submissive, and the other that they are equal to men and should be independent. If a woman firmly believes that she should be submissive, it is difficult to imagine that the same woman could also identify with a culture which demands her to feel equal and behave accordingly. A firm knowledge of the cultures and their history, with explanations for the various cultural traits, and a cognitively competent analysis of them does not always help either - and here vulgar Freudianism has done much harm and prevented people from understanding complex cultural and national and religious affiliations by claiming that once one knows something, this is easy to get rid of. The "obedience" example shows it clearly: even if both parties had a lot of cognitive knowledge of the norms in the other culture and knew the historical and social explanations for the material conditions which had caused each culture to regard obedience in its specific way, they did not really understand, in a hermeneutic sense, why the others did not after all think the same way as they.

Still we know that many people are bicultural, also affectively. Some modification is needed to the main "rule" about the impossibility of the simultaneous coexistence of competing norms in the same person. It seems obvious that

some aspects of culture are more superficial and less emotionally anchored (and in relation to them different norms may well coexist), while other aspects are more deeply anchored emotionally and more resistant to change (and therefore prevent an alternative norm from coexisting at the same time). We have used (in Rahbek Pedersen & Skutnabb-Kangas 1983) an image of cultural traits having the form of an onion, where it is easier for somebody who is confronted with a new culture to peel and change the outer layers, but where the innermost layers are much more inaccessible, more unconscious. Changing them or having several different sets of norms in relation to them evokes much more resistance and conflict. A reaction may then be to refuse to accept the new culture (active cultural self-segregation), or to refuse to accept a coexistence of two different norms and therefore abandon the old cultural norms (cultural assimilation).

Figure 2



Generally the most resistant aspects have to do with the reproduction of culture, aspects like family patterns and child upbringing (and this is where the "obedience" example comes in). This is understandable because a culture disappears if the essential core of it, "core values" according to Smolicz (1979), are not transmitted to the next generation, and therefore the circumstances around transmission must be central for any culture. And since personality structure in any culture is adapted to integrate into a coherent whole the mixture of norms and values of that culture, embodying all its norms and values, it seems to be the most difficult-to-change part of any culture. It also "guarantees" that new cognitive knowledge does not change the structure (= is not allowed "in"), unless it can be in some way incorporated into the totality of norms and values without causing too much upheaval, too many crises of identity. This process of incorporating new items and aspects seems above all to be an affective process, which to a certain extent is much less conscious that the incorporation of new cognitive knowledge - and this is for instance one of the many possible explanations for the difficulty in locating the sources of misunderstanding in intercultural communication, our Robert & Tove example.

We may also speculate whether functional differentiation of some kind makes it easier, at least during a transition phase, for contradictory cultural traits to coexist - they may be called for in different environments. This may though be more true at the behavioural level than at the affective level. It might for instance be possible for a 13-year old Turkish girl in Denmark to accept and live according to Turkish norms for how a teenage girl should behave when she visits Turkey or when she is at home in the Turkish quarters in a suburb of Copenhagen, and at the same time at least behave according to and maybe also accept Danish norms when at school. Or there may be other criteria than place for functional differentiation.

It may operate according to time, mood, interlocutors, topic or the like. Another example, the role of women in relation to men: one of us does not find that there is any emotional contradiction between mostly feeling big, competent, independent, and resisting every attempt from any man to interfere in any decisions, and at other moments, not very often, feeling tiny and dependent and like "Oh Robert, you can decide everything ..." Those attitudes obviously represent absolutely contradictory ideologies and norms, and from the point of view of linear male Western rational logic it should be impossible for them to coexist without conflict. And still they do, without making either of us feel split-brained. So if it is possible for contradictory ideologies to coexist and be affectively well anchored in one culture, it must also be possible to a certain extent, when one of the norms comes from one culture and the other from another culture.

Obviously there is no simple dichotomy "can/cannot co-exist", but we would anyway like to claim that it is much more difficult and requires more effort for differing cultural norms than lingustic norms to coexist, especially in relation to the affective component. We will come back to this in discussing integration/assimilation.

The third component of cultural competence is a behavioural component, the capacity to act in culturally appropriate ways with members of a given cultural group. We believe that in many cases it is possible to behave superficially according to the norms of another culture even without accepting its norms and values, if the benefits from doing so are big enough, and if one has the knowledge needed. A Scandinavian woman may thus cover her head and wear long sleeves when going to a village church in Sicily, without accepting that god demands it. Being cognitively competent in a foreign culture may lead to adequate behaviour, even if the affective cultural competence is lacking. But there may in this case be a fair amount of conscious acting, as though on the stage, when behaving according to the norms

of the other culture. But it seems to us that a certain amount of acceptance and understanding of the norms of the foreign culture is often needed, in addition to knowledge, in order to behave naturally in ways that are appropriate to a foreign culture which is different from one's own.

Behavioural competence can therefore be taught to a certain extent, even if the risk of trivialization and stereotyping is obvious in such teaching, and the behaviour resulting from teaching is often more or less unnatural even if it may seem superficially correct.

IS CUCO TEACHABLE?

If we, then, look at the teachability of cultural competence in different situations, one might hypothesize as follows:

- in a foreign language teaching situation it is possible to teach a fair amount of the knowledge component, very little of the affective component, and some of the more superficial aspects of the behavioural component, but with a risk of stereotyping
- in a second language teaching situation it is possible to teach (or learn without being taught, through living) a large amount of the knowledge component, and to support via teaching the acquiring of the affective component and the behavioural component.

Now we can come back to our examples and see whether we can find support for our assumptions about the teachability of cuco components in them. It seems to us that the girl in example 4, in addition to developing communicative competence in English in the ways this can be done in good classroom practice, would also need to be taught metacultural awareness, self confidence, assertivenes etc, in order to be able to communicate with the boy. And the boy would need to be taught not only how to communicate with interlanguage speakers (which he already knows something about) but also how to be more aware of his own cultural class-related presuppositions. But are these things that can be

taught at all, or taught in school? Is not the lack of metacultural awareness in both youngsters a reflection of their very different socio-economic positions which have prevented them from having other types of experience, meaning that you have to change their socio-economic position for them to be able to acquire the instruments they need for the communication to function? If this is the case, then the school can do little.

Looking at the "diskussion=dispute" and "obedience"examples, is there any way of teaching these things in a foreign language classroom? How can you learn what discussion means in a Swedish and a British context, unless you for many years take part in discussions, debates and disputes in both cultures? And how can you describe this type of difference to a learner, without the presentation becoming utterly boring and abstract, or witty but dangerously stereotyped?

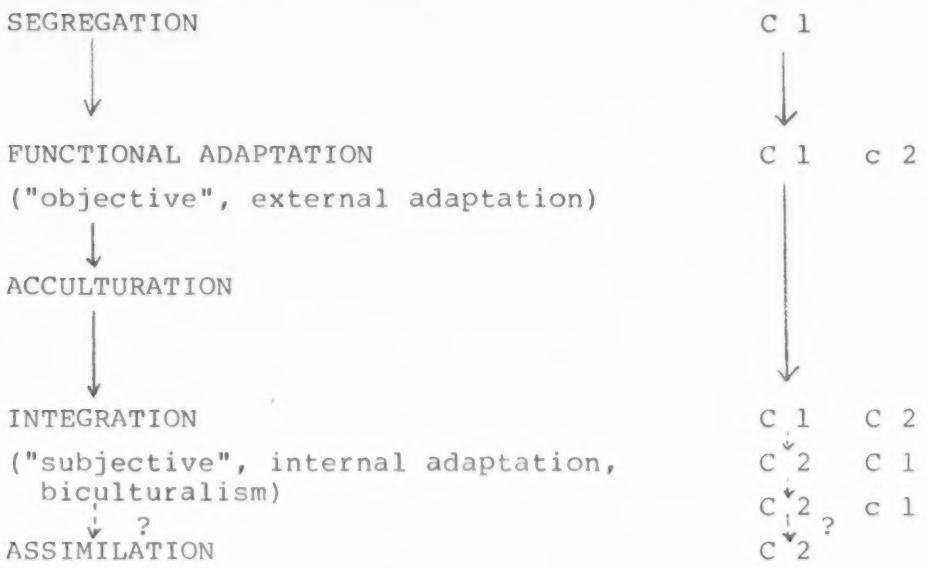
It should be more feasible to teach cuco in a second language learning situation, because the learner can verify classroom teaching in the world outside the classroom. But on the other hand the teaching in this case has to consider such ethical and political questions as whether it is reasonable to ask anybody to learn the behavioural and especially the affective components of another culture, and especially whether or not it is possible to acquire the affective component without at the same time losing some of one's original cultural competence. We shall therefore say a few words about the concepts of assimilation and integration.

INTEGRATION → ASSIMILATION?

We shall look at integration only from one specific point of view, namely as one phase in a development from segregation to assimilation for an immigrant who comes to a new country. We are very much aware of the different cultural meanings of the terms integration, assimilation and even immigrant in different countries, and use them here with

Scandinavian connotations (see Skutnabb-Kangas 1983). We are specifically interested in the relationship between integration and cultural competence in both the original culture and the new culture.

Figure 3



(C 1 = original culture, C 2 = new culture, size of letter = degree of dominance)

In this chain, segregation (either voluntary or forced, often for socio-economic reasons) is seen as the starting point. When the new immigrant arrives, s/he is culturally competent in the original culture, but s/he often does not know the language, institutions or customs of the new country. In this situation, living close to one's country-people who have come earlier gives a certain help and security. When the immigrant starts a functional adaptation, learns some of the language, becomes familiar with some of the most important institutions, sends the children to day care centres and schools, that is the beginning of an acculturation. When acculturation proceeds further, it means that the immigrant acquires the instruments needed to be able to function in the new country, to behave adequately superficially, meaning that s/he has acquired some

of the cognitive and behavioural components of cultural competence in the new culture, in addition to those of the original culture. But it does not mean that the immigrant has changed her or his ethnic identity - s/he still feels like a Turk, Finn, Yugoslav, Pakistani, etc. This functional or "objective" external adaptation thus means that the person has acquired enough of the external instruments of cultural competence in order to be able at the behavioural level to function like a "real" British or Danish or German person, but all the affective solidarity is still with the old culture.

In this analysis, integration would be the next step, namely not only a functional adaptation, but also accepting many of the norms and value judgements of the new society. But in order to differentiate integration from assimilation it is important to stress that this acceptance of the norms and values of the new culture should ideally be in addition to the norms and values of the original culture, not instead of them. The immigrant would thus be bicultural, and have two coexisting sets of norms and values. Some researchers call this phase subjective adaptation. At this state the immigrant would have the affective component of cultural competence in both cultures.

According to this way of looking at the process, assimilation would then be the last stage. Assimilation would mean that the immigrant would have accepted the norms and values of the new culture to the extent where that would mean a rejection of the norms and values of the old culture at the level of the affective component.

Figure 4

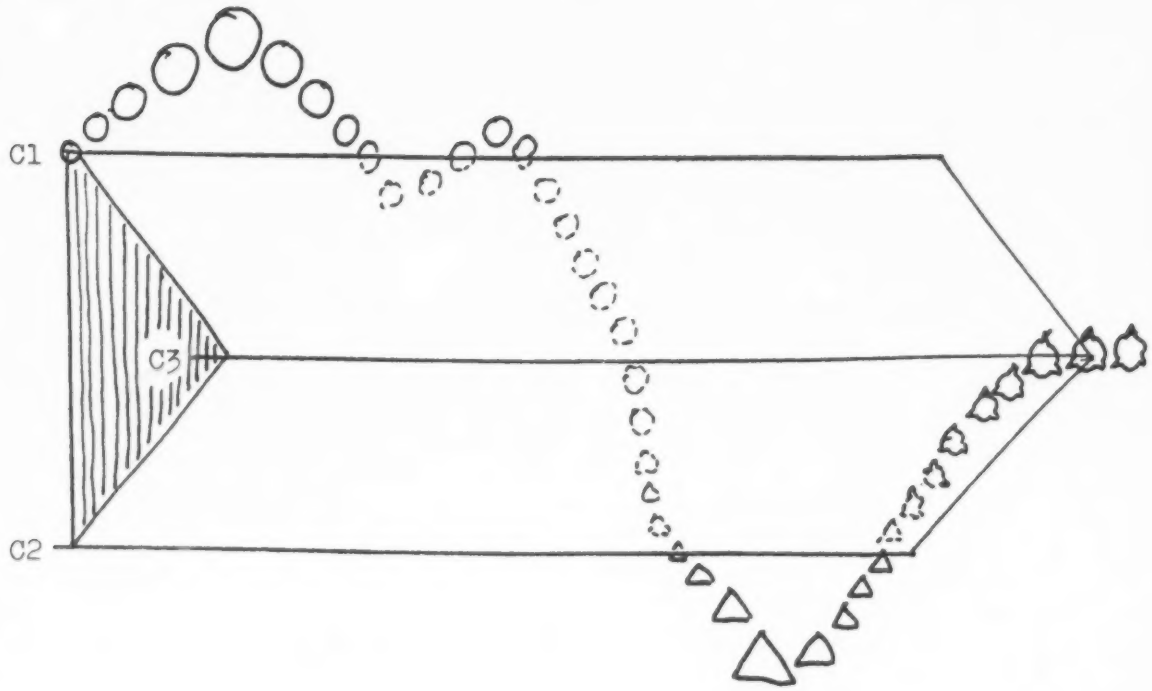
	ORIGINAL CULTURE			NEW CULTURE		
	Know-ledge	Affec-tive	Beha-vioural	Know-ledge	Affec-tive	Beha-vioural
SEGREGATION	+	+	+	-	-	-
FUNCTIONAL ADAPTATION	+	+	+	-/+	-	-/+
ACCULTURATION	+	+	+	+	-	+
INTEGRATION	+	+	+	+	+	+
ASSIMILATION	+/-	-	+/-	+	+	+

The person would still have the knowledge component of the old culture, at least when it comes to everything that constituted that knowledge at the time of moving countries. But s/he would no longer have the affective component of cultural competence in the original culture, at least not fully - even if s/he might still be able to behave according to the norms of that culture in case that was needed (but there would be an emotional barrier to doing this). Figure 4 summarizes this development.

If we believe that coexistence of contradicting cultural norms, expecially at the affective level, is impossible or difficult, the conclusion must also be that integration in the sense used here is impossible. Then assimilation and acculturation would be the only alternatives.

One possible solution, which we think many migrants succeed in, after many years in a new country, is a qualitatively new combination. It could be called interculture, because it combines elements from both cultures, but it differs from interlanguage in that it does not have any of the cultures involved as a goal, a target. It is a new type of culture in its own right. It can in a way be seen as a result of the constructive struggle to try to fit contradicting norms together, instead of giving up and either becoming more intensely devoted to the original culture to the exclusion of the new (active self-segregation, be-

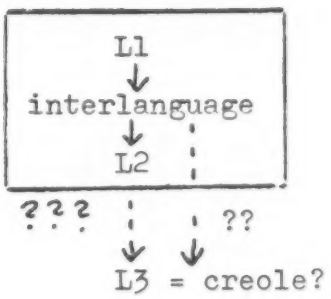
Figure 5



C1 ○ original culture
an "ordinary" Turkish
identity in Turkey

C2 △ "new" culture
an "ordinary" Danish
identity in Denmark

C3 ⬠ interculture
a completely new
cultural identity



coming for instance a Super-Turk in Denmark) or becoming more intensely devoted to the new culture than its original representatives to the exclusion of the original culture (overassimilation, becoming a Super-Dane in Denmark). Interculture might in the best possible cases lead to a positive relativization of both the cultures originally involved, i.e. a high metacultural awareness, to more empathy and understanding towards both (see Figure 5).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

If we now try to consider foreign language teaching from the point of view of the components of both coco and cuco, we have assumed thus far that linguistic, pragmatic, strategic competence and fluency can be taught, or at least learned. Coco was assumed to have a cognitive element, some of which is made explicit in metacommunicative awareness, and an implicit assumption was that language learning activities lead to a greater automatization of coco rules, in other words there was a behavioural element too. A psycholinguistic model would make explicit how such language learning takes place, and what processes are involved (see, for instance chapter 11 of Færch, Haastrup, Phillipson 1983).

The affective component of cuco, strong identification with the culture, is different in kind from a positive attitude to a school subject (though this of course helps learning) and is therefore not relevant for learners of foreign languages. It may well be that the francophilia, anglophilia, etc. characteristic of teachers of foreign languages - which might be interesting to analyse in more depth - corresponds to the affective component of cuco.

Most foreign language teaching in Europe explicitly aims at developing not only coco but also providing learners with a grounding in the cognitive component of cuco.

The Council of Europe Modern Languages Project has moved on from promoting the Threshold Level, individualisation, autonomy, and communicative language teaching to pay more

explicit attention to cultural goals, which were apparently there all along but not articulated (Council of Europe, 1981:173).

In foreign language teaching in Denmark there is a move towards cuco-type syllabuses which are coherent wholes, thematically structured, sometimes linked to such other school subjects as history or geography, as opposed to consisting of isolated facts or texts. Intercultural competence development goes hand in hand with activities for intercommunicative competence development; in other words the behavioural dimension inside and outside the classroom is designed, by teachers and learners, to lead to increased competence within each of those components that are realizable goals in classroom teaching. The role of metacommunicative and metacultural awareness is not merely to facilitate authentic and effective behaviour in the foreign language, but also to equip learners to consciously analyse and negotiate meaning in the foreign language. This would apply both at the level of the individual taking more responsibility for her or his own learning, and at the level of awareness of the role of the particular foreign language, for instance why English is so ubiquitous in Danish society. In case this picture looks too Utopian, while it is true that most foreign language teaching in Denmark does not live up to these ideals, there are exellent examples at classroom level of all the points made.

It seems to us that the more language-oriented part of foreign or even second language teaching, in moving from a cognitive-code approach via an audio-lingual one to more communicatively oriented approaches, has moved from a knowledge approach via crude behavioristic models to an approach which, even if it tries to incorporate a knowledge component, is mostly geared towards the output, the behaviour of the learner. The affective component has been touched upon only vaguely, by reference to motivation or an affective filter. And "affective" has been interpreted in a way which has made it a characteristic of the learner,

the same type of prerequisite to the learning process as the IQ or language aptitude of the learner. We would like to see the affective component more in terms of a process variable, a kind of metacommunicative process monitor, awareness of what is happening in the communication and why; this aspect is teachable.

The more culturally oriented part of foreign language learning seems still very much to be knowledge-oriented: People are taught "Landeskunde", "facts" about the foreign country and culture. In second language teaching this knowledge has been put into use in communicative situations, for instance in role-plays where an immigrant goes to see a Swedish or British doctor. As indicated earlier, we do not believe that much of the affective component in the sense described earlier can be taught, and we do not think that it should in most instances be learnt at the expense of the affective component of the original culture. But one way around the problem, a way to provide learners with more opportunity to judge how much of the affective cultural competence of each culture they might want to combine, would be to teach more metacultural awareness. For most people this would mean starting from their own culture, becoming more aware of its implicit presuppositions. The Swedes in our China example were very much aware of this: they said that they went to China to understand their own culture better.

It seems clear to us from the examples we have used that knowledge of a language and a culture, and sometimes even mastery of the behavioural component, does not always lead to well functioning communication. Sometimes lack of mastery of the affective cultural component and very often lack of metacommunicative and metacultural awareness may even prevent people from both using their knowledge (linguistic and/or cultural) and from behaving appropriately (linguistically and/or culturally).

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